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# Sociology and Social Research

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# SOCIOLOGY AND SOCIAL RESEARCH

*March-April, 1945*



## CONTRIBUTION OF ROBERT E. PARK TO SOCIOLOGY

ERNEST W. BURGESS

*University of Chicago*

● Robert E. Park made his formal entry into the sociological fraternity at the age of fifty. Within eleven years his significant contributions to sociology were recognized by his election as president of the American Sociological Society. For nearly twenty more years—until his death at the age of eighty—he continued to be productive, creative, and stimulating.

In his unique sociological career Park broke all precedents and was a shining exception to well-established generalizations. For example, Lehman has shown in a series of statistical studies that scientists, including social scientists, make their major contributions before the age of forty. On the contrary, all the sociological publications of Park—with the exception of his doctoral dissertation which appeared when he was forty-four—were written after he was fifty.

What is the explanation of Park's brilliant sociological career at a time of life when other scholars and scientists face a sharp decline in both the quantity and the quality of their productivity? A combination of factors undoubtedly contributed to this result.

First of all, Dr. Park had a powerful motivation to find in psychological and social science the knowledge that would enable man to change his world. Second, he was filled with a zeal to secure adequate preparation for his

task. Third, he was in vital and intimate contact with the significant forces and situations of our time—with the newspaper, the city, and the problem of race relations. Fourth, he possessed in unusual degree an interest in concrete experience, both for its own value and for its meaning and function in arriving at generalizations. Finally, he had a great drive for scientific investigation and an extraordinary gift for stimulating and guiding the research of his students.

*Motivation.* As a boy, Park lived in a prairie South Dakota town on the "wrong side of the tracks." This was a social handicap but a sociological advantage. He observed the behavior of the town's "best families" with the detachment of the outsider and with an interest in the motive springs of human action rather than in the obligation of conformity to the social code.

As a student in the University of Michigan, Park found congenial association with other young radicals, the philosophical anarchists of that day. But before graduation he became a participant in a circle including John Dewey, George H. Mead, and Franklin Ford, each of whom, in his own way, was seeking to understand human nature and society as a basis for building a better world.

Dewey sought a solution in the function of education in a democracy. Mead probed deeply into the interrelations of mind and society and their manifestations in the movements of thought in the modern world. Franklin Ford, who greatly influenced Park's early thinking, outlined a scheme of social control much in advance of his time. Park perceived in the newspaper a medium for a career peculiarly fitted to his interest in observation, to his flair for writing, and to his desire for an opportunity of molding public opinion. Park witnessed in the years 1887-1898 as reporter, feature writer, and city editor the decline of the editorial and of the partisan press and par-



ticipated in the movement which gave news and the feature story a role of increasing importance. He was one of the early reporters to write sympathetic but realistic and sometimes in their impact devastating accounts of persons and groups seeking publicity for a cause, generally sincerely but not infrequently with ulterior intent. He was always alert to sense and expose the sham, the charlatan, the "holier than thou," and the vested interest.

He was also among the pioneer group of newspaper men who probed underneath the surface of daily happenings to seek the underlying facts. His investigative bent led him not only to interview beyond the assigned story but also to delve into records and to search for the historical backgrounds of a situation or event.

Although Park never gave up his conception of news as a great dynamic of public opinion and action, he finally concluded that it had serious limitations for the solution of social problems. News could expose an evil, arouse public indignation, and evoke a crusade. But a crusade typically resulted in only superficial changes, such as turning the rascals out of office, or carrying through a common-sense but simple-minded reform which too often created more problems than it solved. Park realized that basic knowledge was necessary about the nature of our complex society which the newspaper could not furnish and which could be obtained only by research. Accordingly, in early middle age, he gave up journalism and returned to university study to prepare himself for a new career.

The motivation that led Park into sociology then was twofold: intellectual curiosity to understand human nature and society and an impelling drive to secure the knowledge necessary for fundamental social changes.

*Preparation.* Park never thought of his sociological preparation as ever finished. It was a process initiated by

his boyhood interest in observing people's behavior and stimulated by his participation as a university student in radical meetings and in philosophical discussions. As a journalist he utilized every opportunity to explore the city and to become acquainted with all types and conditions of people.

Returning to the university environment, he sought great teachers who were investigating the fundamental questions of personality, society, and the nature of scientific knowledge. Foremost among these were William James, Josiah Royce, Georg Simmel, and William Windelband. The title of his doctoral dissertation, "The Crowd and the Public," reveals the problem uppermost in his thinking during his graduate work.

With his formal education complete, Park never ceased to be a student, avid for personal contact with new experiences or vicarious association through firsthand reports of human behavior in diverse social situations. His own framework of reference for the interpretation of behavior remained fluid but never formless. When he was past seventy he remarked to former students, "I am just getting oriented."

*Vital contact with problems.* On his return to the United States from his studies and travels in Europe, Albion W. Small, head of the department of sociology of the University of Chicago, offered to assist him in securing a teaching position in sociology. Park, however, felt the inner urge for the new experience and the knowledge to be gained from participation in a movement of social significance. He utilized his financial independence to make a free choice of possible opportunities. He found the environment he desired in association with Booker T. Washington in his great task of raising the economic and social status of the Negro. Serving as secretary and friend, Park was of great assistance to Washington in developing his

program and in securing public understanding and support for it. At the same time, more than once he acknowledged his indebtedness to Washington as one of his greatest teachers.

Working with Washington, Park was stimulated to reformulate his sociological conceptual system in its significance for understanding and study of the race problem. His experience widened with participation in the Americanization Studies of the Carnegie Corporation, with the research program of the Institute of Pacific Relations and with his trip around the world, which gave him firsthand contact with the problems of race relations in Hawaii, China, Africa, and Brazil. Finally, in his last eight years as visiting professor at Fisk University he devoted the greater part of his time to this area, both by his own writing and by consultation with his colleagues and students.

Coming to the University of Chicago in 1914 at the invitation of Albion W. Small and at the initiative of W. I. Thomas, Park immediately turned his attention to the study of the city which he had known so intimately as a reporter. His paper on "The City: Suggestions for the Investigation of Human Behavior in the Urban Environment" set forth the significance of the study of behavior in the urban environment and outlined a systematic program of research. The program was to a large extent carried out under his stimulating leadership by his students in a series of brilliant studies published in the "Sociological Series" of the University of Chicago Press.

Park's first love, the newspaper, remained ever close to his heart. He perceived in news and its interpretation a significant medium of popular education and social action. One of his lifelong interests was to bring the research of the sociologist into significant liaison with the news story of the journalist—an objective to which he gave increasing thought in his later years.

*Experience.* Park in his own life exemplified the value of significant interaction between concrete experience and generalization. He stressed the cultural significance of intimate acquaintance with human behavior. He particularly emphasized its value in the exploratory stage of research in giving the student an appreciation of the context and ramifications of a problem and insight into the questions important for study.

Park's mind was fertile with hypotheses, but he subjected them to the tests of fact and analysis. His originality was due in large part to his intimate acquaintance with human beings and social situations and to his freedom from conventional ways of looking at behavior. His wide knowledge of the research findings and conceptual systems of biology, psychology, psychiatry, cultural anthropology, and sociology gave him breadth and detachment in the interpretation of concrete social phenomena.

Park was continuously engaged in reorganizing his conceptual system both to square with concrete findings and to articulate with new theoretical formulations in related disciplines. In *The Introduction to the Science of Sociology* he outlined the framework of his system of sociology. In the following twenty-odd years he strove both to follow the main research leads indicated by this prospectus of the field and to reorganize his conceptual system in view of new data from research.

*Promotion of research.* Park devoted his last thirty years with rare singleness of purpose to research. Each of his courses was oriented to research, and every student was assigned a project for investigation, either in the literature or in field study. He was prodigal of his time with students, partly because he deemed each topic significant in a total program of sociological research.

Park's own contributions to the literature of sociology were important, although greater in quality than in

quantity and more numerous in articles than in books. More significant than his writings were his two other contributions to sociology, namely, the charting of new fields of study and the impress of his research zeal and method upon his students.

He was unquestionably the pioneer in originating and developing the field of human ecology; he gave new orientation in concepts and methods to the study of race relations; and he introduced a realistic and vital approach to the study of the news and newspaper in relation to public opinion and to popular education.

Park's investment of time in his students produced high dividends in the score or more of first-class research men who took as their life work a special problem which he had defined and often had developed in its main conceptual outlines.

Park will rate in history as one of the great American sociologists. Together with his friend and colleague, W. I. Thomas, he gave the major impetus to the movement which shifted sociology from social philosophy to an inductive science of human behavior. He formulated a conceptual system oriented to research; he took the lead in breaking ground in new fields and introduced new methods of approach in old fields; he trained a group of students who have made significant contributions in several different fields. He combined in unusual degree qualities of personality, motivation, training, and experience which enabled him in his teaching and in research to make an outstanding contribution.



## DELINQUENCY TRENDS IN WARTIME

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● Juvenile delinquency is an old problem, a problem that has been intensified and given new emphasis under the pressure of war.<sup>1</sup> So much publicity has been given to this problem that the average citizen is inclined to believe that a veritable epidemic of juvenile misbehavior is spreading over the nation. The best available statistics, however, do not justify sweeping generalizations in regard to delinquency trends.

There is no over-all agency to compile comprehensive nation-wide statistics, but several governmental bureaus and private agencies collect data on certain items. The U.S. Children's Bureau, Department of Labor, has been compiling information since 1927 pertaining to cases handled by juvenile courts, reported in *Juvenile Court Statistics*. The courts reporting now represent about 35 per cent of the population. The *Uniform Crime Reports* of the Federal Bureau of Information, Department of Justice, contain information regarding arrests and offenses known to the police. Juvenile arrests are not clearly differentiated from adult arrests and not all cities are covered.<sup>2</sup> Among the private organizations, the National Probation Association compiles the most extensive data, which are gathered by means of questionnaires sent to chief probation officers in cities and counties with 50,000 population and over.

Most of the questions regarding delinquency could be answered satisfactorily by the available statistical and case

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<sup>1</sup> Compare *Controlling Juvenile Delinquency*, U.S. Children's Bureau Publication 301, 1943; and Charles L. Chute, Executive Director of the National Probation Association, *Probation*, June, 1943.

<sup>2</sup> The *Semiannual Bulletin*, Vol. XV, No. 1, July, 1944, contains data based on monthly reports of 2,157 cities.

study methods if they were fully applied. The official reports are largely statistical in nature. Improvements have been made in compiling numerical data, but even the best official reports give only a partial picture of the extent and trends in juvenile delinquency. Some of the reports indicate what the statistics represent and what they do not represent. The difficulties in compiling accurate information on this subject are obvious. Less than half the courts dealing with juveniles present reports. Those reporting are inclined to give totals of filings on cases disposed of rather than the number of children handled. If a child appears in court several times a year, each appearance is counted. Some courts report only the cases handled officially, whereas others report unofficial cases as well. Even if all courts were to present full reports, only a part of the delinquency cases would be reported, for courts usually handle the more serious cases, leaving the less serious ones to be handled by police and sheriff officers.

There is no sharp cleavage between delinquent and non-delinquent behavior. There is also no uniformity in laws regarding the acts that may be considered as delinquencies, or as to the age group which is considered as juveniles. In a broad sense juvenile delinquency has reference to anti-social acts of children and youth under age, which either are violations of law or may be lawfully interpreted as requiring official action. But, as Lowell J. Carr<sup>3</sup> has indicated, there are at least six possible interpretations of the term "juvenile delinquency," which he illustrates by means of a diagram, consisting of concentric circles: (1) those who are adjudged delinquents by courts, (2) the alleged delinquents brought to courts, (3) all detected antisocial deviants reaching any agency, (4) all antideviants detected, (5) the legal delinquents, and (6) all juvenile deviants.

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<sup>3</sup> *Delinquency Control*, 1941, p. 59.

Delinquency is a part of a dynamic process, which can be understood only in relation to the sequence of experience of which it is a part. Hence, to deal effectively with juvenile behavior one must view it in terms of both the social situation in which it took place and the condition of the individual.

*The increase of juvenile delinquency.* In view of the incompleteness of numerical data, it is obvious that only general approximations of delinquency trends can be given. Prior to the war approximately one per cent of the nation's children passed through the juvenile courts each year, or from 170,000 to 200,000 individuals.<sup>4</sup> The juvenile court statistics for 1940, 1941, and 1942 show a general increase of delinquency since 1940, but the rates of increase vary by states and by counties.<sup>5</sup> For instance, 83 courts serving areas of 100,000 or more people report an increase of 16 per cent more cases handled in 1942 than in 1940. The increase was 18 per cent in forty-one areas of population increase and only 9 per cent in forty-two areas where the population decreased. A special study was made of 130 courts in small cities, towns, and rural communities in four states, of which 73 reported increases, 49 reported decreases, and 8 handled the same number of cases. A later report<sup>6</sup> shows that the number of delinquency cases handled by 145 courts in various sections of the country increased from 71,991 cases in 1942 to 93,984 cases in 1943, an increase of 31 per cent.

The National Probation Association<sup>7</sup> has been receiving reports from chief probation officers in cities and counties

<sup>4</sup> Compare Carr, *op. cit.*, p. 37; also Alice Scott Nutt, *Child Welfare League of America Bulletin*, Vol. XXI, No. 9, November, 1942.

<sup>5</sup> *Juvenile Court Statistics, 1940-42*, U.S. Children's Bureau, Supplement to Vol. 8, No. 6, December, 1943, of *The Child*.

<sup>6</sup> Preliminary Statement, *Juvenile Court Statistics, 1944*, U.S. Children's Bureau.

<sup>7</sup> Charles L. Chute, "Juvenile Delinquency in Wartime," *Probation*, June, 1943; and Frederick W. Killian, "Juvenile Delinquency: Wartime Trends, 1943," *Probation*, June, 1944.

of 50,000 population and over. By using 117 jurisdictions for comparisons, it was found that 38.1 per cent more cases of delinquents were handled by the courts in these jurisdictions in 1943 than in 1941, representing an increase in number of cases from 87,125 to 120,489. Unfortunately, the changes in population in the jurisdictions are not noted.

The best available statistics indicate that delinquency has been increasing at a greater rate, although there are notable exceptions to this major trend. Many local studies have been made throughout the United States to substantiate this general conclusion.<sup>8</sup>

While the war has apparently stimulated the increase of delinquency, the upward swing occurred several years prior to the war, but not at the same rate of increase. David Bogen, Superintendent of the Los Angeles Juvenile Hall and Hospital and formerly statistician of the Los Angeles County Probation Department, made a careful study of the Los Angeles County Juvenile Court cases over a period of sixteen years, 1925 to 1941, and found that both the boys' and girls' delinquency curves followed closely the business index of the period. Delinquency went down during the depression and began to increase as soon as business began to pick up.<sup>9</sup>

*Changes in the composition of the delinquency population.* The 145 courts serving specified areas reported to the United States Children's Bureau that they handled 93,948 children's cases in 1943, of whom 75,945 were boys and 19,039 were girls, a ratio of nearly four to one. However, the increase of girls' cases has been particularly marked since 1940. For 53 courts, girls' cases increased

<sup>8</sup> Compare the following studies made recently in California: *Juvenile Crime in California*, 1943, by Robert A. Neeb, Jr., Deputy Attorney General; *Crime Prevention Digest of the State Bar of California*, October-December, 1943; *Juvenile Delinquency in Wartime*, June 25, 1943, prepared in the office of Fred N. Howser, District Attorney of Los Angeles County.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. "Juvenile Delinquency and Economic Trend," *American Sociological Review*, 9:178-84, April, 1944. Compare Carr, *op. cit.*, p. 53 ff.

over the preceding year as follows: 16 per cent in 1941, 20 per cent in 1942, and 29 per cent in 1943; whereas the boys' cases for the corresponding periods increased, respectively, 8, 4, and 31 per cent.<sup>10</sup> The reports received by The National Probation Association, previously referred to, show that girls' cases increased 23.4 per cent from 1941 to 1942 and 11.5 per cent from 1942 to 1943, whereas the boys' cases increased 5.2 and 17.2 per cent during the same periods. These statistics seem to indicate that girls' cases increased faster than boys' cases during the early years of the war but that the increase of girls' cases has abated somewhat during recent months.

The statistics in regard to age composition of the delinquent population are less reliable than those pertaining to sex differences in rates of delinquency. The Federal Bureau of Investigation has reported that nearly 23 per cent of all persons arrested in 1943 were under voting age, that more boys 17 years of age and more girls 18 years of age were arrested than in any other group,<sup>11</sup> and that the largest increase for individual age groups was age 16 among boys and age 20 among girls. More than one half of all crimes against property were committed by persons less than 25 years of age.<sup>12</sup>

The increases of delinquency have varied according to the relative sizes of population groups. The National Probation Association divided the 117 jurisdictions used for comparable statistics into three population groups: 43 with over 200,000 people each, 30 with from 100,000 to 200,000 people, and 44 with less than 100,000 people. The percentages of increase in 1943 over 1942 for the girls were: 5.1 per cent in the large cities, 24.2 per cent in the

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<sup>10</sup> See mimeographed report of an address by Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief of the U.S. Children's Bureau, to the National Conference of Social Work, May 22, 1944; and Preliminary Statement, *Juvenile Court Statistics, 1943*, dated February 29, 1944.

<sup>11</sup> Address by J. Edgar Hoover, delivered in New York on April 17, 1944.

<sup>12</sup> *Semiannual Bulletin of Uniform Crime Reports*, Vol. XV, No. 1, 1944, p. 2.



middle-sized cities, and 40.7 per cent in the smaller cities. The percentages of increase of the boys' cases for the three population groups were, respectively, 12.9, 36.4, and 28.1. This seems to indicate that the smaller cities have experienced a more rapid increase of delinquency than the large population centers, which may be due in part to the difference in law enforcement and the effectiveness of the agencies handling cases.

*Changes in types of offenses.* *The Uniform Crime Reports*, referred to previously, show that in 315 cities of 25,000 people and over the arrests for larceny increased from 1939 to 1942, but that the rate has dropped since then; burglary and robbery declined during the entire period from 1939 to 1943; auto theft increased from 1939 to 1941, dropped during 1942 and 1943, but increased 26.5 per cent during the first six months of 1944. These figures include both juvenile and adult cases. No explanations are given and no detailed studies have been made to show why these trends have occurred.

Similar trends occurred in Los Angeles County during recent years, except that petty thefts and burglaries by juveniles have steadily increased. Auto theft, which was one of the most common offenses of boys, dropped considerably during 1942 and 1943, but increased noticeably during the first half of 1944. Acts of violence, especially assault cases, though fewer in number than offenses against property, increased noticeably.

It must be reiterated that juvenile courts handle non-delinquency cases as well as those involving violations of law. For instance, the Los Angeles County Juvenile Court and Probation Department handled 4,064 new cases in 1940, 4,762 in 1941, 5,129 in 1942, and 6,597 in 1943. But only during the last two years have the delinquency cases been separated from the others. The delinquency cases totaled 3,276 in 1942 and 4,077 in 1943, an increase of 24.5

per cent; whereas the neglect, dependency, maladjusted, and health cases increased from 1,873 to 2,521 during these two years, an increase of about 38 per cent.<sup>13</sup>

The California Youth Authority has given considerable attention to the problem of transiency of youth under 18 years of age. The migration of youth, as well as of adults, seems to be on the increase. During 1943 nearly ten thousand transient children were arrested in California, one half of whom were from other states. The metropolitan areas of San Diego, Los Angeles, and San Francisco are the terminal areas of the migrant children.<sup>14</sup>

*Changes in conditioning factors and in the attitudes toward the causes of delinquency.* The attitude toward the causes of juvenile delinquency has been changing as studies have thrown new light upon the subject.<sup>15</sup> Today the complexity of causal factors is recognized. While there is no agreement in regard to the relative importance of the various conditioning factors, an analysis of recent studies points to at least five types of somewhat overlapping conditions: (1) individual factors, including physical and mental conditions, emotional instability, and character traits; (2) home life and family conditions, especially family disorganization, poor housing, extreme poverty, cultural and moral nonconformity, physical and mental abnormalities, and drunkenness; (3) gang life, types of companions, and street-corner societies; (4) community conditions other than home life and gangs, such as physical environmental conditions, population mobility and heterogeneity, succession of cultural groups, economic want or the sudden increase of income and leisure, institutional de-

<sup>13</sup> Report submitted by John M. Zuck, Chief Probation Officer.

<sup>14</sup> Reported October 3, 1944, by Herman Stark, Chief of the Delinquency Prevention Division of the California Youth Authority.

<sup>15</sup> Among the studies that have affected the conceptions of juvenile delinquency may be mentioned those by William Healy, Frederic M. Thrasher, Clifford Shaw, and others. Studies of individual delinquents, gangs, delinquency areas, and of the influence of the home, street life, cultural conflicts, and slums on delinquency have influenced the thinking in regard to the problem of delinquency.

terioration, adult crime, the spirit of delinquency, unregulated commercial amusements, extensive street trades and employment of children, racial conflicts and discrimination against minority groups—in general, slum conditions; and (5) the treatment of offenders, law enforcement and observance, and the general attitude toward law and the controlling agencies of society.

The increase of delinquency in wartime has called for additional explanations. The most notable effect of the war is that it has accentuated the already existing factors. It has disturbed family life because of the absence of either or both of the parents, the absence of older brothers in the service, and the employment of children and the mothers. Migrant families, especially, have neglected their children. Crowded living quarters, the sudden increase of spending money for luxuries, the prevalence of commercial amusements in urban areas, and the reduction of child welfare services in critical areas, due either to the lack of leadership or to incompetent leaders, have accentuated the situation. To these must be added the wartime atmosphere, with its tensions, frustrations, restlessness, relaxation of social control, adventurous spirit, mental disorganization, the effects of military life, the imbalance of the sexes in the community, and many other conditions created by the war.<sup>16</sup> The effects of these conditions have not been fully measured.

*Changes in methods of treatment.* Changes in the methods of treatment of youthful offenders have accompanied the changed attitude toward delinquency and the increased knowledge of conditioning factors. Prior to the war the juvenile court movement made steady progress, and the addition of probation services and clinical studies played a major role in the application of the scientific

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<sup>16</sup> For further discussion of wartime influences, see *Understanding Juvenile Delinquency*, Publication 300, and *Controlling Juvenile Delinquency*, Publication 301, U.S. Children's Bureau, 1943.

approach to children's behavior problems and the treatment of offenders. Since not all the juvenile courts present reports, although those reporting are increasing in number, it is difficult to ascertain the exact growth of juvenile courts and how much the war has affected this growth. It is estimated that there are about 3,000 juvenile courts in the United States. While the chief need is the further extension of the juvenile court movement, questions have been raised regarding the desirability of the court's becoming a social agency. Many courts are overloaded and unable to give sufficient attention to the more serious cases of delinquency. This problem is especially serious because many courts are suffering from lack of trained personnel. There is a growing feeling that the unchecked expansion of the court's functions has placed upon it too heavy a load for any one agency to carry. Some courts are now trying to limit the intake by discouraging the filing of complaints for minor offenses. It is urged that neglect, dependency, and maladjusted cases which do not involve offenses should be referred to social agencies rather than taken to the court. This would prevent overloading of the court as a case-work agency. The court, of course, must use case-work procedures in handling offenders, but it has functions quite apart from a case-work agency. The juvenile court background and its more recent expansion are now being carefully scrutinized, and its functions in wartime are in the process of adjustment.<sup>17</sup>

While further expansion of the juvenile court into a case-work agency is being questioned, the case analysis procedure is increasingly being applied in treatment processes. According to Norris E. Class, Associate Professor of

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<sup>17</sup> Compare Alice Scott Nutt, "The Future of the Juvenile Court as a Case-work Agency," *The Child*, 4:17-22, July, 1939; "Juvenile Court Function," in *Social Defense against Crime: 1942 Yearbook of the National Probation Association*; and "The Juvenile Court in Relation to the Community," *Social Service Review*, 17:1-7, March, 1943.

Social Work, The University of Southern California, there is a growing demand for specialized training in case work for all persons dealing with juvenile offenders. This is accompanied by a growing feeling that law enforcement organizations and social welfare agencies must work together in matters relating to juvenile delinquency control. Increasing attention is devoted to delinquency problems in the professional social work literature. Social workers are in the process of re-examining their role in the treatment of delinquent personalities, are refining case-work services, and are integrating case- and group-work procedures, particularly as these relate to maladjusted youth. Group-work therapy is used as a part of the treatment process.

*Delinquency control and prevention.* The growth of crime prevention bureaus within police departments and sheriffs' offices is evidence of the recognition by the police of the increased responsibility in the juvenile delinquency field. Likewise, the services of probation departments and the attendance offices of schools have been expanded. These developments make it possible to handle many cases without resorting to courts. The officers dealing with juveniles have a greater responsibility, which in turn requires more specialized training. The conferences and institutes that have been held to train workers, and the growing literature on the subject, are evidences of a recognition of the need for better-trained personnel.<sup>18</sup>

The establishment of state youth authorities is another step forward. In 1940 the American Law Institute offered a model bill called Youth Correction Authority Act. This model bill has been criticized on the ground that it may take away from the court the power to prescribe the length

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<sup>18</sup> Compare *Technique of Law Enforcement in the Treatment of Juveniles and Prevention of Juvenile Delinquency*, compiled by The National Advisory Police Committee on Social Protection of the Federal Security Agency, approved by the International Association of Chiefs of Police and National Sheriffs' Association, 1944.



of sentences and the supervision of treatment,<sup>19</sup> but this can be corrected by state laws setting up such authorities. In 1941 California established the first Youth Authority. At present there are four divisions: (1) training and treatment, (2) diagnosis and classification, (3) probation and placement, and (4) delinquency prevention. During the last year the California Youth Authority has increased the facilities for handling delinquent youth by 45 per cent, and has centered attention on delinquency prevention by encouraging trained personnel in law-enforcing agencies, by urging schools to set up guidance programs, by stimulating the establishment of youth centers, by setting up community and coordinating councils, and by making studies of delinquency conditions and problems in the most critical areas.

The Board of Supervisors of the County of Los Angeles set up the Los Angeles County Youth Committee (November 21, 1944), consisting of one member of the Board of Supervisors, the Presiding Judge and one other Judge of the Juvenile Court, the District Attorney, the Sheriff, the County Superintendent of Schools, the County Probation officers, the Chairman of the County Probation Committee, the Superintendent of Charities, the County Director of Parks and Recreation, one member of the County Welfare Commission, the Chairman of the Executive Board of the Los Angeles Councils, and the heads of several Los Angeles City departments, such as police, recreation, and schools, and the Welfare Council of Metropolitan Los Angeles. The functions of the Committee are: to make continuing studies of problems concerning youth, to devise ways and means of dealing with such problems, and to coordinate the activities of the agencies dealing with the welfare of youth. A staff of executives is to be employed to carry on the functions, which means the ab-

<sup>19</sup> See John F. Perkins, "Defects of the Youth Correction Authority Act," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, July-August, 1942, pp. 111-15.

sorption of the present Delinquency Prevention Division, which for many years has been an integral part of the Probation Department. The Executive Board of the Los Angeles County Coordinating Councils will continue to perform the functions as previously, and the 75 local coordinating councils will have a large place in the new program.

The coordinating councils constitute the most effective form of local community organization. In Los Angeles County these councils are composed of representatives of the important institutions and agencies of the area, organized for the purpose of coordinating all agencies interested in child welfare and delinquency control. The usual pattern of organization is to divide the council into three divisions: research adjustment to handle or refer individual cases; group work and recreation; and environment, designed to improve community conditions. The County Committee for Church and Community Cooperation, the Toy Loan Board and local Toy Loan Centers, and the Citizens' Committee for Latin-American Youth work with coordinating councils.

In 1942 Los Angeles County law-enforcement agencies established the Central Juvenile Index for filing identifying information and delinquency data on all juveniles who have been brought to the attention of the reporting departments. This Index functions like a Social Service Exchange, with information regarding the names, addresses, and offenses of delinquents handled by the arresting agencies in the county. At the present time (1945) about 50,000 cases have been reported and indexed. The statistical value of such a central file is obvious, and the police departments are increasingly using the Index for identifying purposes.

The Chicago Area Project, organized by Clifford R. Shaw and his associated sociologists of the Illinois State

Department of Public Welfare, is designed to help the residents of slum areas to improve their own communities through committees composed of people who are closest to the problem of delinquency, enlisting the cooperation of the delinquents themselves, and working from the bottom up instead of institutionalizing the program. This method of dealing with delinquency areas may prove to be one of the most effective ways of dealing with the problem of delinquency control during the postwar era.

The growing public interest in the problem of delinquency and the increased understanding of the relation of environmental factors to delinquency have stimulated the movement to put a larger responsibility for the prevention of delinquency upon the community. Possibly no phase of the problem of delinquency has received more public attention than the preventive program. Public interest has been aroused, and there is a growing demand that something must be done to control the spread of delinquency. The proper treatment of cases and greater facilities for handling delinquents, as well as better methods of law enforcement, including improved facilities for intensive case analysis and for diagnostic treatment, are important from the standpoint of both treatment and prevention. But the social environment of children, as well as personality factors, must be improved if we are to get at the roots of delinquency. This includes the strengthening of home life; the promotion of character building and citizenship training through group work, supervised recreation, religious instruction, and education; the control of community conditions, such as commercial amusements, housing, child labor, race relations, and the plight of minority groups; and a concerted emphasis on law observance and enforcement.

The attitudes of youth, parents, and the general public toward delinquency control are important, but little has

been done to measure the changed attitudes during wartime, except to note the increased interest in the problem and the growing concern about the increase of delinquency. There is a growing feeling that one of the greatest needs is research. The people who deal with this problem are asking for more objective information regarding the nature, extent, causes, and control of delinquency. Here is the opportunity for the social scientists to make a most important contribution.

In conclusion, it may be stated that, even though the information is still somewhat inadequate, on the basis of available data certain general trends in delinquency are observable. Juvenile delinquency has been growing for some time, but it has increased at an increasing rate during wartime, with some evidence of abatement in some regions during recent months. Delinquency among girls increased faster than delinquency among boys, although boys still commit far more offenses than girls, and there is some evidence to indicate that the rising tide of delinquency among girls is being checked. The general age level of the criminal population is lower than it was before the war, with offenses by youth increasing out of proportion to adult offenses. Offenses against property have not increased in proportion to offenses against persons, although the former types of offenses are still far more prevalent than the latter, and there are evidences of decreases in certain types of offenses. The war has accentuated the conditions producing delinquency and has added new factors. The treatment of juvenile delinquents has undergone considerable change, and there is a general feeling that improvements must be made in the methods of treatment. From the point of view of the public, the most noticeable trend is the growing concern about the problem of delinquency and the increased interest in programs of control and prevention.

## FRUSTRATIONS OF A NATIONAL EGO

### A Study in the Social Psychology of the German People

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#### I

● In the fall of 1931 a group of older German youths headed for an overnight hike into the hills northeast of Hamburg. Represented was a pretty good cross section of the middle- and lower-class young men; some from the heart of the city, others from the suburbs of Barmbeck and Altona. After pitching camp, finishing with the stew, and washing the mess kits, the fellows settled down around the red embers. They were in a meditative mood.

According to my diary it was Helmut who began. Helmut was a ruddy, freckle-faced fellow of twenty. He had been one of the "soup babies" during World War I. His eyes and legs had been troubling him since.

Helmut's father spent four years at the front. He left his wife and five children, who were weakened through four years of Ersatz and the postwar blockade. Herr Schultz returned, but the years at the front had changed him. He was more irritable and argued with Helmut's mother. Later, when the inflation hit, conflict in the family reached the breaking point. Helmut's older sister Frieda had a bitter quarrel with her mother and left home. Despite Herr Schultz's training as a ship's carpenter, it took everything he and the children could scrape together to meet the cost of food and rent. The family had saved

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\* During the three years from 1929 up to the time Hitler came to power, Dr. Bee lived and worked with youths in all parts of Germany. In his part-time role as volunteer leader of youth groups he ate, slept, and worked with the men who today make up the rank and file of Hitler's army. These years witnessed the final stages of the struggle between nazism and communism in Germany, and Hitler's rise to power.



nothing to be lost in the inflation, but their small steady income was undermined with worthless paper money. Family tension reached a new high.

After the inflation, the children were older and could help more with expenses. Things went better. Karl, Helmut's younger brother, went into apprenticeship as a carpenter's helper. Helmut met a girl and found a job that promised enough of a future that they could talk of marriage. Despite widespread unemployment in Hamburg in 1929, relative world prosperity was reflected in increased activity at the docks. Their hopes soared.

The ominous mist of the depression settled over Hamburg without warning. Helmut's family, like many others, was grounded in zero visibility. World trade fell off. Shipping decreased. Herr Schultz could be seen standing in line daily, waiting to have his identification book stamped, assurance that he was not working and would receive 24 marks for every six entries—five dollars a week to meet all the needs of the family. Helmut lost his job. Karl shot himself through the head with a Luger. Frieda cut off all contact with her family.

Helmut could not think of marrying under the circumstances. Taking a wife to his father's house was out of the question. He was caught in the clutches of family grief, new tension, frustration of plans for a job and marriage, and, not least, the guilt and fear of idealistic young people whose love is not accompanied by a marriage license.

A homesick stare had settled over the fellows by the time Helmut had finished, for he had spoken for many of them.

Walter, an anemic-looking boy of seventeen, broke the silence. His father had fallen in the War. His sister, several years older, was supporting the family of three as a stenographer. Walter had talent on the violin. His music teacher at the Hochschule had encouraged him to

go on, but the cost of advanced study was prohibitive. Walter knew that the demand for professional musicians had dwindled rapidly. He had witnessed the number of trained, experienced violinists who were forced into "un-ethical" private teaching; that is, they could not receive a salary from the State Theater and at the same time have an income on the side from teaching. Others were taking second-rate jobs, playing in cafe string ensembles. The impact of performances with smaller orchestration was forcing many to the less desirable jobs. Walter said that every time he thought of becoming somebody and amounting to something a sinking feeling struck him in the pit of the stomach.

One of the older members of the group was Gerhard, blonde, tall, and somewhat more aggressive than the others. He, like his friends, was being high-pressured by rival political factions in his neighborhood. Over fifty political parties in Germany representing nearly every type of interest group from the military (Stahlhelm) to the Catholic church (Centrum) sought seats in the Reichstag. The smaller parties were making desperate attempts to increase their memberships by working through local groups. If a youth lived in one place, worked in another, and spent his leisure at still another, that made no difference; the dominant party in each area expected his loyalty. Refusal was an affront to the local party. The pressure groups Gerhard ran into reminded him of packs of religious fanatics in Hell dividing up the dead, with little more chance of escaping.

Not least among the conflicts brought out was one not clearly expressed, for the fellows appeared to be only vaguely aware of their feeling. The boys of these middle and lower classes apparently had never been charged with leadership roles in which they initiated their own program. Judged by their actions and expectations, their idea

of a leader embodied a male with authority—a strong disciplinarian like their fathers, male school teachers, sports directors—persons who had the blueprint and knew the answers. In developing a German version of American scouting we American volunteers were sailing uncharted waters. Our aim was to bring out the potential initiative and spontaneity of German youths in developing leadership and a program. Furthermore, we wanted to avoid the kind of dominance that goes with delegated authority and prestige.

This was all utterly confusing to our German colleagues. Not only were we misunderstood, but frequently our attitude was taken as a sign of weakness. Often the result was one of two responses: either they kowtowed, seeming to feel guilty for assuming a role of "poseur," or they became overbearing in their attempt to fabricate the answers and impress their fellows.

Our ideas of leadership and attitudes toward authority stood in sharp contrast with those of our German friends. There was represented not simply a difference of opinion, but a fundamental aspect of our different ways of life, deeply imbedded in our respective culture patterns. The brew was bedeviled further by our assumption that a pipe-fitter's son can and frequently does hold important offices; to them it was only the elite who enjoyed such privileges. Their attitude was something like that of a Negro from the Deep South who suddenly finds himself playing a more equalitarian role in a northern community. Our attitudes and expectations utterly confused and frustrated them.

The subject of religion came up. Setting aside denominational differences, the group felt that within Germany and among nations there had been a singular failure in the least one could expect of Christianity—some semblance of fraternity among men. Bloodshed stained the streets of

Hamburg; bitter distress was experienced everywhere. These Nazis in embryo felt that the Treaty of Versailles, postwar blockade, and reparations were without consideration of the German people, for they had never accepted guilt for the war; that international manipulation for world markets had hit a new high in open grasping; that the concentration of wealth along the Alster in Hamburg, on the one hand, and the abject poverty in the slums, on the other, all were too absurd to discuss in a Christian context.

## II

Upon returning to Hamburg from the hike I was stunned to think of how I had lived in Germany for two years naïvely preoccupied with the things that would make good subject matter for an amateur photographer being led around by a travel agency. Until recently, however, I had not understood enough of the German language to appreciate the meaning expressed in some of their figures of speech. Furthermore, it was not until we crouched around a common pot of stew that my German friends took off their proud masks and bared the psychological pockmarks underneath. Baffled by the paradox of what Germany appeared to be from the outside, and what she was experiencing underneath, I went to the home of a friend to discuss it all.

Friedrich had not yet returned from work. His two little girls of kindergarten age were playing with their dolls on the floor, while his wife prepared their supper of stewed cabbage, potatoes, and salt pork. Presently their father, about thirty-five, walked in dressed in blue overalls and carrying a lunch pail. Friedrich looked tired, but smiled pleasantly. He had just enough time to change his clothes and leave for the University, where a philosophy club to which he belonged was meeting. He was reading a paper on Plato this evening and asked me if I would be his guest.

The philosophy club met at the University of Hamburg. It was made up of a handful of intellectuals—two members of the faculty, a newspaper editor, a Protestant minister, several graduate students, and my host. Friedrich's paper seemed to receive the respectful attention of the group. The discussion that followed appeared impersonal enough; but before long a violent argument broke out between one of the professors and the newspaper editor. The professor remained seated but raised his voice. The editor rose to his feet, shouted, hit the table with his open palm, then walked out.

During the long walk home Friedrich and I discussed the events of the evening, the political unrest in Hamburg, and the overnight hike. Friedrich said:

It all fits together like a mosaic. The same frustration and bitterness is heard daily among the men at the plant where I work. No class of people is escaping. There is a regrettable tension among the intellectuals of my acquaintance. Tonight was not the first time a discussion as impersonal and remote as Plato had evoked more emotion than the subject itself warranted.

As I was leaving that night I told Friedrich that we probably would not see each other again, for I was leaving Hamburg. Friedrich never had been sentimental; but, as he stood half staring, half meditating for a moment, tears came to his eyes. Turning, he took a small cigarette lighter in the shape of a radio tube from the mantel. He then selected a copy of Papini's *Life of Christ* from the unpainted pine bookshelf and inscribed a sentiment in it. Handing me the tube with a nostalgic smile I shall never forget, he said, "This represents one part of my life—the part I spend in anonymity in the assembly division of a radio manufacturing plant, with little hope of ever doing the thing I want to do . . . . And this," he continued, handing me the book, "is part of one of the few things that has made life bearable, the living thoughts contained in my library."



Friedrich said that our association had meant much to him; that, aside from our common personal interests, the young middle- and lower-class Americans he had known reflected a way of life that gave persons of all classes a sense of personal worth and dignity; that sons of working people had been given an opportunity to travel and buttress their ideas against the assumptions of others, receive higher education at public expense, and, above all, were free enough from want and threat to maintain the spontaneity found in a sense of humor. "These values," he said, "I cherish above all others, and though I am utterly unable to insure them for my children, life has been more meaningful knowing they exist."

### III

The evening with Friedrich placed the events of the previous nine months in Hamburg in an entirely new perspective. Enough had taken place within the walls of these lower middle-class dwellings to portend the summer of 1932, 1933—and 1943. The death of my landlady now made sense. She was a sedate, middle-aged woman whose husband had been killed in the War. She had confided the loss of everything she owned in the inflation, trying later to adjust herself to a lower standard of living by taking in renters. Only now did I realize what she must have been thinking and feeling as she stood in the doorway of our living room with her hands wrapped intensely in her apron, watching with half-dilated eyes the rowdy fun we young Americans had during our bull sessions.

Personal tragedy was evidenced everywhere in Hamburg. According to the tenants who washed their clothes in the basement laundry, nine persons had jumped in front of the subway terminal about a block from our apartment, within the past year. Suicide, pathological drinking, sexual perversion, and intolerable anxiety made up the weird prelude to the tragic real life drama that was to follow.

At first the rumble of political dissatisfaction could be heard only in the distance—around the beer halls in the suburbs and along the docks. St. Pauli, the Grosse Freiheit ("great freedom") of Hamburg, was one such area. Not far from the shipyards of the Elbe, it lay in the suburb of Altona. It was here that sailors went to drink beer, swap stories, pick up a girl, and get in a brawl, on the side streets; and where the city's elite dined and danced in the night clubs lighting up the main thoroughfare. It was among the docks and along the streets leading off from the bright lights that bitter dissatisfaction was expressed in political knock-down-drag-outs. Morning-after stories of knife and gun play among the many small bands of roving Communists and Nazis went the rounds.

As the summer of 1931 wore on, these brawls grew in number of men participating and gradually moved toward the heart of the city like an avalanche picking up momentum, in the form of gigantic political demonstrations. One phase of the final showdown between communism and nazism could now be seen from my window above the Grosse Alle, a broad boulevard running from the main railroad station west. Early any evening during the latter part of the summer one could look out on the street below and see small groups of poorly dressed men and older boys gathering. Some were talking with gestures; others listened attentively while kicking a pebble about with the toe of a shoe. The streets leading into the Grosse Alle at this point poured in new recruits as the groups multiplied and the boulevard filled. The crowd by now was milling around in restless activity. Presently squads formed toward the west, and the sound of marching feet broke the muffled overtones as the heavy, steady rhythm merged into strains of a party song.

From the sidelines above the Grosse Alle, these gigantic demonstrations seemed to be staged by a single party; but

they were not. One night the Communists paraded. Nazis were cleared off the streets by caravans of military police armed with submachine guns. The next night the Nazis paraded and the Communists were cleared. This arrangement, however, did not prevent numerous brawls in which there were quick clashes of fists, knives, and pistols. The astounding thing about these alternate demonstrations was the similarity of the men making up each parading mass. Both seemed to be from the lower classes, young, tense, and ecstatic. Both met, paraded, and sang in much the same manner. The Communists had impressive strength, were well organized and ably led. They probably have not been driven out of Germany by the Nazis, but merely underground. After the war this potential political power house might not grease its dynamos with Kremlin oil; on the other hand, one can hardly conceive of Russia standing in the way of "Germany's political self-determination."

#### IV

That fall I returned to the Rhineland, where I had lived in 1929. During the two years many changes had taken place. After arriving in Essen an apartment was found near the Krupp works. The landlord was a man in his early forties who had been a skilled worker in the plant for a number of years. It was not long after we first met that he discussed the nature of his work with frankness.

He said that Germany had been allowed to make a limited number of munitions as a source of national income. He was engaged in the manufacture of meter shells—which they were exporting to *Japan*! His eyes met mine as he confided that they were training him in one of the skills necessary in the manufacture of this shell, leaving him on the job only long enough to learn the one process, then shifting him to another division. "Thus," he said, "each worker is learning to do one job well. Soon we will have many skilled munitions workers."

It seemed to be common knowledge in Essen that complete specifications of the machinery "dismantled" after Versailles were catalogued by the Germans. Furthermore, there was nothing subtle about the way a limited number of facilities for the manufacture of munitions were being used to the fullest advantage in training an unlimited number of skilled workmen on the job—two years before anyone could determine whether it was to be the Nazis or the Communists who would determine their use.

The political climate in the Rhineland was warming up rapidly. As was evidenced by the demonstration of the Communists, their ranks were growing. The Nazis were not quite so open with their activities, though there was much talk among the middle classes about joining up.

Later that year Hitler was scheduled to speak in the bicycle racing hall in Dortmund. I was living in the small industrial city of Bochum at the time and arrived in Dortmund before the scheduled hour, but too late to get even standing room. He made a tremendous impression. On the streets of Bochum the next morning the people seemed to feel that he had given them a plausible definition of their multiple ills; even more, he had indicated a way out. As judged from the light mood of a number of shop owners with whom I talked that day, they acted as though the villain had been identified for them and all that remained was to organize a posse, catch him, and string him up. Their attitude was a mixture of belligerence and spiteful swagger characteristic of a precocious young girl asking her parents why they had been holding out with the stork story.

## V

A way of life is the most sacred possession of any person or nation. This was true especially of the German people with their totalitarian ideology. Thus, when their culture and their social organization were threatened with defeat

in World War I, aggravated by revolution at the close of the war, total inflation, foreign competition, and the late *depression*, their *personal* as well as their *national* stability was brought to the brink of disintegration.

It was only in such fertile soil that Hitler and his movement could grow. He was in a unique position to give *definition*, *expression*, and *direction* to the prevailing national emotional instability. However, he did not create it—not even the attitude toward the Jews. In Wiesbaden in the spring of 1930 I saw the remains of a Jewish music store that had been wrecked. Local residents said that it was not the National Socialists who wheeled grand pianos from the third story, but angry business men who could not meet the competition. These were incipient Nazis waiting for a leader.

The German problem was in a real sense quite independent of Nazism. Hitler did not create it; just the converse. It was there in an unorganized form before the Nazis arrived on the scene, and will remain there to be dealt with when they are gone. Hitler's religion of nationalism was conceived in the frustration and privation of a proud and aggressive people—the frustration of a national ego and will to power that is deeply imbedded in the roots of German tradition. Bismarck, the Hohenzollerns, the Junkers, and now Hitler are all but symbols of the incarnation of this national attitude. Furthermore, this will to power is not merely something that has been tacked on to the rest of German tradition, or generated during the post-war years; it is a fundamental part of their way of life, expressed in their parent-child relations, education and pedagogy, religion, art, technology, and science.

We know that, when people—individuals or groups—find the values they had always taken for granted as real and worthy of fighting for crumble, they become restless, frustrated, anxious, hateful, and fearful of the retaliation



of the persons they hate. Their confusion is increased. They become more suggestible. Emotional responses have sway over their better judgment. Thus, the neurotically ill become ripe for exploitation. So became the German people.

In the midst of it all Hitler arose. He used the artistry of an aesthetic genius to redefine their problem and give public sanction to a release of hatred and aggression that had been tearing at their hearts for generations. This was accomplished through his new religion. It was based on the institutional aspects of German Christianity, but dependent upon another idea for its life blood: namely, anything is best that works best.

Hitler's new religion had the earmarks of the real thing. It was when he spoke in Vienna that American radio listeners heard him proclaim in tense ecstasy that divinity had commissioned him to save the German people and establish the great German Third Reich. He gave his people a bible, *Mein Kampf*, enshrined in gold. He revived the eschatology of other religious movements—the time of the end of the old and the birth of the new. He boasted the doctrine of superiority—"we Germans are the salt of the earth." He gave his people signs, symbols, hymns, martyrs, and the kind of pageantry that would make Barnum and Bailey look like small-town peanut vendors. It was a youth movement. Youths are plastic, idealistic, suggestible, and not set in the traditional ways. He defined a personal devil—the Jew—a visible symbol who could serve as a scapegoat for their multiple damns. His was less a rational theology, talking; more one of action and participation. Last and most, it was a movement in which every person could have a part and feel a common destiny—even to the loss of his life that the cause might live, giving a sense of mission not only to the talented but to fumbling little people.

As the military and ideological forces approach their final test in this great world revolution, we pause to look back at the stark tragedy of it all. It is idle to dream about what might have been if only a different leadership had arisen during the crucial years of 1930, 1931, and 1932 to divert Germany's confusion and want into a crusade of social reconstruction. That is all water over the dam. Looking forward, we can see that Hitler and national socialism will go, but much of what he and the party stood for will remain in the culture and personality of the German people from whence it stemmed. Taking the long view, we must seek to differentiate between the symptoms of this collective mental illness, on the one hand, and the basic social and cultural medium out of which these recurring symptoms erupt, on the other. As a result, we might initiate policies *and* acts that would prevent a dispossessed majority in Germany after the war from turning East rather than West for its inspiration, encouragement, and leadership, for the German *people* will work out their *own* destiny.

## MILITARY SOCIAL DISTANCE

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● In the army social relationships are definitely characterized by marked degrees of traditional social distance. Inasmuch as the army represents one of the largest and most baffling abstract collectivities sociologists might attempt to study, considerable caution and reserve are needed to describe and interpret some of the ramifications of this type of social distance.

### I

Social distance in the army is official. Military organizations are to a great extent predicated on the assumption and practice that a certain amount of social distance is imperative between leader and follower. Since military units, especially under combat conditions, must operate efficiently and smoothly, everything is done to achieve that high goal; hence, it is logical that there be enough social distance between leader and follower that selection of military personnel be as fair and objective as possible.<sup>1</sup> Too much intimacy between officers and enlisted men tends to make the selection of a soldier for a dangerous and arduous mission a major problem in itself. The advice in the following passage reveals the significance of some social distance:

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\* On leave and at present an enlisted man in the 588th Signal Depot Company. None of the statements made in this paper necessarily reflect the official attitude of the War Department, but are merely the personal observations of the author.

<sup>1</sup> In several ways the social distance between officer and enlisted man resembles the general features of the relationship between boss-worker, doctor-patient, and teacher-pupil.

Care should be taken in such informal conversations that familiarities are not indulged in, and that neither party presumes upon the friendships thus formed. One danger of these informal conversations is that the officer may unconsciously show a degree of favoritism. This unfortunate tendency would seriously impair the confidence of his men in him as a leader.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, the social distance maintained between officer and enlisted man aids in assuring objectivity in the assignment of military duties and responsibilities.

While the need for social distance has been pointed out, how is social distance between officer and enlisted man maintained? The social relationship between officer and enlisted man is essentially dichotomous in nature, for the enlisted man salutes all officers, he speaks to officers only when given special permission to do so, he must enter most military buildings through separate doors from those used by commissioned officers. He sits and eats in the enlisted men's section and, finally, he sleeps in quarters for enlisted men. In addition, the enlisted man, while standing at attention, precedes a question to an officer with the title "Sir" and periods an answer to an officer with the same title. These distinctions are evidences of social difference and thus are reminders of official social distance between officers and enlisted men. Military insignia and appropriate uniforms become the badges of social distance. In one sense social distance is maintained by outward manifestations and the role of personality may seem to be virtually eliminated, but this point needs modification in the light of other factors.

As a result of the marked distinction made between leader and follower, interesting problems and reactions to the army emerge. Soldiers who were very successful as civilians may at first find it a little difficult to conform to some of the salient hallmarks of military courtesy and bearing. In fact, the recruit may be somewhat startled to

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<sup>2</sup> L. A. Pennington, Romeyn B. Hough, Jr., and H. W. Case, *The Psychology of Military Leadership* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1943), p. 108.

be compelled to obey orders given by a person who in civilian life enjoyed only a moderate social status by virtue of his personality, education, race, age, or occupational calling. Hence, it is not surprising that the new member of the service may experience some resentment toward such superiors, and awkward defenses often result, such as reclusiveness, and merely going through the motions of obeying an order. To the eager soldier with latent military leadership ability the distinctions made and arduous tasks assigned may serve to drive him onward to a higher rank. It may be quite true that many of our able young officers were enlisted men who made up their minds to better themselves after completing sixteen hours of humble but necessary work as a member of the kitchen police detail!

Other factors which may stimulate feelings of social farness between officer and enlisted men are wrapped up in the intricacies of clashing configurations of personality. The officer who appears to enjoy the opportunity to order those with lower military status to perform humble tasks punctiliously is almost certain to be stereotyped in negative terms. However, noticeable personality clashes between an officer or officers and enlisted men are subject to correction by the commanding officer. The administrative officer of the company has the delicate task of maintaining *enough* social distance between officers and enlisted men that respect for officers is automatic, but at the same time he must guard against the development of too much distance and its complement, resentment. Otherwise, in at least one sense, military bearing without a sense of humor may be interpreted by some soldiers as military overbearing.

## II

Within the ranks of enlisted men social distance prevails but may not appear so apparent as between officer and enlisted man. The higher ranking noncommissioned



officers have the somewhat thankless task of personally assigning company details to other enlisted men. The sergeant, for example, may have the problem of selecting perhaps only two men from the barracks for a specific detail, and the two men selected may resent being chosen and purport that the sergeant rarely selects his "friends" for the humbler tasks. Assignments which infer discrimination are certain to augment social distance between the sergeant and the privates. In order to avoid the development of unnecessary criticism in the assignment of company details, many noncommissioned officers follow the simple practice of listing all the names of privates alphabetically, assigning details by strict rotation. Higher ranking noncommissioned officers have the responsibility of carrying out orders; yet they rarely initiate orders, and it is easy for them to be caught in the cross fire of what the men think of the detail and the responsibility for its completion.

Another cause of social distance between noncommissioned officers and privates may arise from differential capillarity. The soldier who works diligently and is thus given more status in terms of military rank may not be well liked by his colleagues. He may be especially disliked if he is defined as someone who flattered his way to success. When he becomes, for example, the barrack's sergeant, he may have some difficulty in ordering the privates to perform their respective duties. The privates, in a jesting way, may accuse the new sergeant of "pulling rank" and permitting his promotion to go to his head, and the recently made sergeant may refrain from turning in the names of soldiers who complain because it might disclose that he lacks leadership ability. However, common sense may tell him that tact is the key to the situation and, if he will lend a hand to the detail, he may win the respect of the soldiers and the job will be done with a minimum of

social distance. If, on the other hand, the noncommissioned officer orders others to do tasks and, while the duties are being performed, seems to enjoy pointing the shortcomings of those performing the work, he is almost sure of being loathed by all. When the overbearing sergeant needs the loan of a few dollars to tide him over for a few days, he may realize by the many refusals just how much social distance has developed toward him.

Another dynamic area for the observation of social distance is between professional and drafted soldiers. The draftee represents the person who would not select the army as a life career during peace and even during periods of war may appear a little reluctant to become an active part of the military organization. His services are dictated by a national emergency of war and his attitudes vary from those of the soldier who enlisted during peacetime. To many draftees the army is a means to an end; and, the sooner the end, the better. But to the professional soldier the army represents something very worth while and an organization which must be kept alive and ready even during periods of peace. These attitudes are somewhat antithetical and social distance may easily develop between the two groups. The professional soldier may not be impressed by the military bearing of draftees and their almost continual criticism of the army. He may, in desperation, claim it is impossible to make a real soldier out of a draftee. The so-called "thirty year" man may clash to some extent with the draftee, and the West Point officer with some of the products of Officer Candidate School. Of course, the role of personality sometimes bridges without effort the differences in background, and social distance is not of such a nature that military efficiency is restricted to any great extent. The conflicting values and the accompanying attitudes of the foregoing mentioned groups are of more interest than of real military concern.

While social distance between soldiers and civilians is real, it is unofficial. The man in uniform who has given up precious time, risked his life, and been separated from his family may feel social distance between himself and civilians of a similar age or martial status. While this distance may be due to chagrin, its reality cannot be overlooked. In many instances the relationship between civilian and draftee is almost explosive, and both groups must exercise caution and tact to avert conspicuous evidence of distance which might cause embarrassment for all concerned.

The soldier often defines civilians as being better off because of the war, since many jobs are available at high wages, and with lessened competition. He may revolt at the idea of civilians striking for higher wages. He may visualize the strikers as those who are interrupting the normal flow of vital supplies to him and his comrades at some distant outpost. The technicalities of differential price indices and costs of living may have little meaning to him, and the press is not likely to present the technical side of the question adequately. Some soldiers resent the civilian's tendency to call all army men "G. I. Joes" or "boys." For instance, the older soldier, perhaps well in his thirties, and the father of three children, may not appreciate a sales clerk calling to another clerk in a department store, "Will you please wait on the boy here!" Few soldiers appreciate being called "soldier boy" by civilians, even though the term may be used in a friendly manner. However, few civilian-soldier relationships equal the social distance created between the two groups whenever a recreational establishment places a sign over its door stating boldly, "Officers and Civilians Only." The "Jim Crowing" of enlisted men by a few civilians may prove irksome. To the soldier who may have lost considerably in social status and actual pecuniary standards, such discrimination may seem not quite in line with the principles for which the war is being fought.

On the other hand, soldiers irritate civilians by referring to conscientious defense workers as draft dodgers. Soldiers may cause social distance by being far too extrovertive in public places, and enlisted men who attempt to date or flirt with women they do not know may fail to win civilian respect. Unfortunately, the psychology of "pack up your troubles in your old kit bag" has had a tendency to make the soldier appear more extrovertive and careless than he would be as a civilian.

### III

While the first and second sections of this paper have emphasized, for the sake of clarity, a number of the factors accounting for military social distance, it is only logical that the social nearness side of the story be presented.

Soldiers, whether they be officers or enlisted men, wear the uniform of the United States Army, and this factor offers immediate recognition of what Giddings referred to as "consciousness of kind." An interesting social distance *gradient* is observable within the army and, in general, it functions somewhat as follows: the greatest nearness a soldier experiences is for his friends, the company, and his particular branch of the service, i. e., the Signal Corps or some other branch. Another way of stating this would be to reverse the administrative units in a particular branch, such as the infantry, in the following manner, with the greatest social nearness being felt for the smallest unit and increasing social farness as the units become larger and more impersonal: the squad, the section, the platoon, the company, the batallion, the regiment, the brigade, the division, the corps, and the army. One hears soldiers express deep pride in their outfits, and the numerical designation of the company becomes the collective representation for the attached men. The colorful patches worn on the left sleeve near the shoulder become symbols of immediate recognition. Morale is built around such symbols

and pride in the accomplishments of the units thus designated. There seems to be a hidden wish to belong to organizations, and the administrative units of the army with appropriate symbols satisfy this desire.

Another factor which may lessen social distance between members of the armed forces results from crises. Some of the official distance between officers and enlisted men is removed under combat conditions. The interdependence of the squad as a functioning whole looms up as of great importance on the battlefield and petty distinctions are apt to disappear under the exigencies of the times. The many stories told of comradeship between soldiers on the battlefield are indicative of the reality of great social nearness. The soldier who risks all to aid a fellow member of his company cares little about race, religion, or military rank of the person involved.

Perhaps in no other social situation do we find so many relationships approaching the palship degree of social nearness as in the army. Almost every soldier has a "buddy." This person is a companion who understands the moods, philosophies, and interests of his buddy. Army life is a twenty-four-hour routine, and it thus does not take long to find out the good and bad qualities of a given soldier.

What are some concrete illustrations of social nearness in the barracks? Lending money and clothing, sharing the cake from home, group activity in keeping the barracks clean, and when one of the soldiers seems to be in a low mood it is not very long until a number of men take it upon themselves to cheer him up. Because of the physical proximity of barracks living, few soldiers are without friends or acquaintances. Differences in religious convictions, political affiliations, and civilian occupational callings seem to evaporate under the cooperative experience of living in a barracks. Group sharing promotes friendly attitudes.



## BUILDING AN INTERRACIAL CHURCH

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● An interracial religion presupposes an interracial church. Christianity has never taught that God is a respecter of any particular "racial group." Whenever the church has practiced racial discrimination, it has broken with its two most fundamental doctrines—the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. The only legitimate discrimination that the church can make is between right and wrong, good and evil.

Making the churches of America interracial is a most complex job. It is not a theological problem, but a practical problem of ironing out barriers and difficulties so that the fullest and freest relations may exist between peoples of different racial backgrounds.

Are there any such churches in existence in America? There are a few notable examples, but the interest of this paper is to call attention to only one—the All Peoples Christian Church and Community Center, located at 822 East Twentieth Street, Los Angeles, California. This Church was dedicated in 1931 by a group of Japanese Christians. Ten years later they were evacuated from the Pacific Coast area. This left the property in the hands of the United Christian Missionary Society. In October of 1942, the Reverend and Mrs. Dan B. Genung, both from the University of Chicago, were sent by the Missionary Society to develop the All Peoples Church and Center.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> At the present time, the Genungs are assisted by the Reverend Fred Fertig (former associate to the Japanese minister), a returned missionary from China, a student from one of the local colleges, Mrs. Fred A. Vickland, director of the nursery-kindergarten (former director of the Japanese Christian Institute Nursery and Kindergarten), and others. The Church Federation of Los Angeles through the Youth Project sends staff people to work with the youth who gather at the Center.

In April, 1943, Mr. Genung wrote:

When the tragic evacuation of our Japanese brethren left two splendid buildings and a playground, the U.C.M.S., after surveying the district and its needs, sent Mrs. Genung and me to organize group work and recreational activities and to build, if possible, a community church.<sup>2</sup>

The area in which this Church and Center is located encompasses a section of the city of Los Angeles which has been the home of various races throughout this century. Most of the houses were built by Anglo-Saxons in the first two decades. Since that time many things have happened to change the conditions and standards of the community. Industry developed to the east, crowded and poor housing conditions developed in all other directions. As the community deteriorated, various racial groups moved in. The Chinese established themselves along Adams Boulevard and throughout the area. The Japanese began coming to this section in the twenties. It is difficult to say which racial group has been predominant, for the community is characterized by population change and flux. Even though the Japanese established their church in this area, it has not been strictly a Japanese community. It is estimated that only about two fifths of the membership of the Japanese Christian Church was resident when they were evacuated in 1941. At the present time, the Negroes are the most numerous, next are the Mexicans, then the Orientals, and then the Anglo-Saxons.

This mixed racial community provides the people for the All Peoples Church and Community Center. They come, or their forefathers came, from China, Korea, Mexico, Africa, Ireland, Italy, Portugal, Holland, England, Germany, Sweden, Syria, Armenia; and there are those with mixed blood such as Portuguese-Mexican-Chinese, white-Negro, and Spanish-Syrian. These are the

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<sup>2</sup> Dan B. Genung, "A Church of All Peoples," *World Call*, 222 Downey Ave., Indianapolis, April, 1943, p. 15.

racial backgrounds represented in the All Peoples program. Most of them come from within a few blocks of the Center; only a few come as far as four blocks.

What goes on at the All Peoples Christian Church and Center? The answer to this question furnishes a concrete illustration of how an interracial church is being developed. The program is divided into (1) nursery-kindergarten, (2) youth clubs and activities, (3) playground-recreational activities, (4) adult clubs and educational opportunities, (5) Church School and worship. Mr. Genung says that "the beginning point of our work has been the nursery and kindergarten."<sup>3</sup> At the present time the nursery-kindergarten has a capacity enrollment—forty-one. There is a long waiting list. The program is in operation eight hours a day for five days a week. Another part of this program is the mothers' club, which meets twice each month. Their meetings are designed for education, fellowship, and recreation. The director of the nursery-kindergarten, who is assisted by people of various racial backgrounds, says that this work is a laboratory for teaching and forming right attitudes toward other races.

The older boys and girls, of junior high and senior high ages, are organized into clubs for courses, discussion groups, and the like. Interclub sports demand a great deal of interest. Games in basketball are matched with other neighborhood groups. Visits and field trips, week ends in the mountains or at the beach are a part of the program. Mr. Fertig, in his article in the *Pacific Citizen*, quotes one of the Negro boys just before a basketball game started with an all-white team and before a white grandstand: "We'll teach them how Chinese, Koreans, Mexicans, and Negroes are together as friends and play together with real teamwork. We'll show them that all races can cooper-

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<sup>3</sup> *Loc. cit.*

ate."<sup>4</sup> This part of the program is supplemented by the Youth Project of the Church Federation, which offers courses in crafts, drama, art workshop, et cetera.

The program for adults is limited to two nights a month—family nights at the Center. It is reported that there are good turnouts without any promotion whatsoever. They come for fellowship, to see a movie, to participate in a discussion, to see a drama club in action, or to hear a lecture. Mr. Fertig gives a description of an All Peoples program in the following statement:

A list of some of the programs for our family night and the young peoples' forum-social clubs will best give an idea of how we follow out the interracial-international theme in our activities: A Calypso singer from Trinidad; a Filipino wild game hunter; a missionary from China; Negro expert on race relations; Negro newswoman on newspaper writing and propaganda; "ordinary white" Americans leading forums on co-operatives and city politics; a German Jewish refugee describing his life in Europe; a Vesper arranged around the recording by Paul Robeson of "Ballad for Americans."<sup>5</sup>

A Church School is in session on Sundays. There are four classes: one for the primary group, one for the junior boys, one for junior girls, and one for adults. Following the Church School, a worship service is conducted by the minister.

This is the program at the All Peoples Christian Church at the present time. The ministers and workers have in mind many things to be developed. They need only time, money, and a group of interested people who will help them. They plan to enlarge the adult program, but this demands more personnel. They are interested in classes in English, a Calypso choir, a young married couples' forum, classes in cooking, sewing, health, and other related subjects which will improve and extend their services to the people of the community.

<sup>4</sup> Fred Fertig, "A House of Prayer for All Peoples—Some Notes for the Nisei," *Pacific Citizen*, 25 E. Second South St., Salt Lake City, March 11, 1944, p. 6.

<sup>5</sup> *Loc. cit.*

How do these youth and adults of various racial backgrounds get along? This is the most frequent question asked by visitors. This is foremost in the minds of those who live in a race-conscious society. At almost any time in the afternoon, one can see for himself how they get along. If it was not for color visibility, one would think that the groups on the playgrounds, in the craft shops, or in discussions were typical American groups. In the programs and activities of the children, race prejudice is not a divisive factor. The club officers are made up of youth of different racial backgrounds. In a popularity contest awards were given to a Mexican American for the best smile, to a Chinese-Portuguese-Mexican girl for the best figure, to a Chinese-American girl for the best manners and hair, to a Korean for character, and to an Anglo-Saxon for the best personality.

Instead of having racial hatred between the racials of our area, what conflict we have has sprung up from the sense of cultural isolation felt especially by the second generation youth. Our section of the city figured in the "zoot-suit" riots with one of the major gangs—the Clanton Street gang—having its headquarters only a few blocks away.<sup>6</sup>

A statement in *The War Worker* by Cora Ball Moten gives an evaluation of this work and program:

Here is one certain way to prevent racial frictions, for it is based upon racial integration stemming from the common interests of a common humanity.

Dan B. Genung, Fred Fertig, and the staff engaged in this adventure in brotherhood at All Peoples may be on the road to a greater discovery than any of the great physicists have even made from Galileo to Curie. It may be that they are on the verge of discovering, by practical application of its tenets, that Christianity, so long a word mouthed by dreamers and prostituted by charlatans, really is a workable idea.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, March 4, 1944, p. 6.

<sup>7</sup> Moten, "Adventure in Brotherhood," *The War Worker*, April, 1944, Vol. I, No. 9, Los Angeles, p. 5.



This brief description and discussion indicates that an interracial church is an actual fact, that such a church is in operation and is making progress. What are the salient factors in operation at the All Peoples Christian Church and Community Center that are suggestive to the building of interracial churches? It is to be kept in mind that the problems of building any church are present in building an interracial church, plus the factor of racism.

The first factor is that the church and center are indigenous to the community. They are located among the people; they are not imposed from the outside. The people live in the community, their markets are in the community, they see one another at the neighborhood theater and in the schools. The program develops creatively from within the community. This suggests the most natural and promising condition for the development of an interracial church.

The second factor is leadership. An interracial program calls for an interracial and indigenous leadership. It has the responsibility of training such leaders. The All Peoples program has made a start at this point. The nursery has helpers of different races, and the director feels that this is one of the most effective ways in which to develop racial understanding.

Third, a diversified program with many activities is essential in building an interracial church. People come together around interests and activities. They become acquainted and friendly by doing things together. If they play and work and study together, they are more likely to worship together. All Peoples has an excellent program of activities with the purpose of developing skills in child care, housekeeping, handcraft, cooperative living.

Fourth, the church and leadership establish rapport with the community. Homes are contacted, problems understood and dealt with at the place where they develop.

This requires visitations and counseling. Such a program is not successful unless the leadership has entree into the homes and the inner sanctuary of the lives of the people. In this function, the people are given a sense of being a part of the community and invited to take part in the program of the church.

This point suggests still another factor. Why an interracial church? The leadership has the responsibility of interpreting its purpose to the people. Its aims and objectives are expressed and made simple and real to the people. The people understand "the cause" of an interracial church so that they may commit and dedicate themselves to it. If this factor is lacking, much of the effort of getting people to play and work together is abortive. When racism is shown to be a cause of their sufferings and cooperation in an interracial program is seen as a part of the solution, then the people will respond with enthusiasm. The leaders of the All Peoples Church are doing this in an excellent way. They are challenging their people and others to work at this task of developing human brotherhood—the unfinished business of the church and democracy.

## COOPERATIVES AMONG SMALL FARMERS

### An Observation\*

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● During the last few years I have published several articles on FSA cooperative activities in the Pacific Northwest. My articles, without exception, have described the socially significant and economically practical results of cooperative action by small farmers. In all cases, the articles indicated specific methods that small farmers were using to help themselves through mutual self-help.

Prior to writing those articles and certainly prior to working closely with small family-type farm operators, I lacked an appreciation and understanding of the various potentialities of cooperative association. Like many other persons in the educational field, particularly like some who teach sociology and economics in colleges and universities, I possessed a passive faith in the long-time and eventual values of cooperatives. Not until I began to witness the stirring results of cooperative action did I discard my passive faith for an active behavior pattern.

I did not change into a "promoter" and a "salesman." Nor did I become a one-track fanatic and insist that cooperative organization was the only true way to economic millennium for small farmers. Rather, I became actively receptive, and this is important, to the democratic requests of small farmers for technical aid in establishing cooperative self-help organizations. I came to recognize that cooperative organization, patterned somewhat like that de-

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\* Views expressed are those of the author. They do not reflect official policy of the Ferrying Division, Air Transport Command, Army Air Forces, or USDA Farm Security Administration.

veloped in Sweden, was highly important for the continued individual welfare and self-reliance of small farmers.

During the last year, instead of working with small farmers, I have had the privilege of serving voluntarily as an enlisted man in the military armed forces. Thus, I have been able to view objectively my past cooperative work. I have found it to be worth while, chiefly because of two considerations: first, cooperative organizations provide a democratic and nonpaternalistic method to help small farmers help themselves and thereby develop their individual character, responsibility, and enterprise; second, cooperative joint-use services financed by long-time low-interest loans permit small farmers to utilize modern agricultural equipment and high-quality livestock sires. Small farmers can then participate in technological advance and compete effectively with coldly efficient, large-scale commercial farm operators. This is important; for thousands of these sturdy Americans look on farming as "a way of life" and think in terms of the life-giving properties of the soil. *They want to remain on the land and to farm their individually owned farms.* Their vigorous individuality and healthy community spirit appear to be basic prerequisites for a functioning economic and political democracy.

In conclusion, let me suggest that university professors, such as sociologists, economists, and political scientists, plan to devote research time to examining the widespread consumer and producer cooperative movement and to determining its possibilities for postwar America, both rural and urban. For example, in a postwar period when cartels, large-scale corporate enterprise, monopoly, and big government will probably be in evidence, can democratic cooperative associations be developed more than at present to serve as a practical "middle way" and as one of several

methods for helping to develop individual ownership, individual responsibility, and individual concern for community welfare? Can cooperatives aid in maintaining a reasonable balance between private and governmental initiative? Can cooperatives do anything to further the development of the whole personality of man which, as Lewis Mumford says in his recent book *The Condition of Man*, is a fundamental of democracy?



## THE VISIBLE AUDIENCE

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● The term, visible audience, is used by radio stations to distinguish the people who attend broadcasting performances from the large invisible audience which "listens in." The advent of elaborate radio programs has brought with it a type of audience that social psychology has neglected. Nation-wide and international broadcasts are skillfully presented to secure certain desired effects on the far-flung invisible audience, while the visible audience that is present in the broadcasting studio is considered chiefly as a technique, or an aid in securing desired effects upon the invisible audience.<sup>1</sup> However, this visual audience is an important social group in itself and merits serious consideration.

From several hundred questionnaire-interviews the writer has secured data upon various phases of the visible audience as the term is used here. The data have been obtained from persons about equally distributed with reference to the sexes and from persons ranged largely from eighteen to forty years of age. Each person has attended from one to six broadcast performances as a member of the visible audience, and each has been asked to give his reactions to three major points, namely, reactions to the announcers, reactions to the various elements in the main programs, and reactions to the "commercials" or the advertising methods. Each person was asked not to sign his name and was encouraged to express himself as freely as possible.

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<sup>1</sup> Frank E. Hill and W. E. Williams, *Radio Listening Groups* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1941).

The development of the visible audience has been striking. For example, today in Hollywood, where many radio broadcast programs originate, long queues of people may be seen almost any afternoon or evening, waiting to enter the broadcast theater. The first who enter enjoy the best seats. The audiences vary from a few hundred to a thousand persons. One national broadcast announces that the total attendance at its Hollywood broadcasts increased for the first three months of 1943 from 166,000 persons to 316,000 for the same period in 1944.<sup>2</sup>

In order to exercise control over the attendance, the producers issue tickets one or more weeks in advance of each program. The tickets are free; but, as they are distributed extensively to members of the motion picture studios and agencies, they are difficult to obtain. Although persons may "write in" for tickets, their chances of receiving them decline with the popularity of the program. In fact, the promoters of the most popular programs may announce that "no more tickets for the remainder of the season are available."

The audience is usually composed of middle-class people, judging by their wearing apparel and general demeanor. Barring a few exceptional programs, the attendants are well distributed as to age, and, as indicated by their conversation, many are tourists.

The data that the writer has gathered through observation, interview, and questionnaire relative to the visible audience fall under several headings: (1) the recruiting of audiences, (2) reactions to announcer, (3) reactions to main program, (4) reactions to advertising, and (5) conclusion.

1. *The recruiting of audiences.* The persons who attend a broadcast for the first time are usually surprised to find that the admission is free. Practically all attendants are

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<sup>2</sup> "Your Kingdom for a Ticket," *Radio Life*, May 28, 1944, p. 30.

pleased to be the beneficiaries of exciting and interesting programs. Sooner or later the attendants "catch on" to the fact that they comprise a "sound effect" audience. In fact, the announcer or the promoter of the program frankly explains to the attendants that they are a part of the "back stage" audience, that they are to furnish sound effects for the people "out in front," that is, the listeners-in, wherever they may be located. The members of the audience are given oral "instructions" concerning how to perform their roles in putting on the "show"; their microphones, hanging above their heads, are pointed out; and they are directed when to applaud and when to keep silent. They are always cordially invited to come again and are made to feel more or less personally welcome.

Some programs, because of the renown of the "guest stars," require no recruiting. In a way, the guest star is a large phase of the recruiting technique. The opportunity to see a "movie star," even for a few minutes, and to see him or her performing in a more or less subdued way is magnetic.

Some radio programs draw large visible audiences through the cleverness and versatility of the cast or of the "radio star" who is the main performer. However, there is a tendency even for excellent programs to invite a different guest star for each performance. Perhaps the fact that one "show" follows this procedure compels others to do likewise. Competition between "shows" is increasing, and sometimes goes to unnecessary if not ridiculous lengths.

A technique that all members of a visible audience respond to favorably is a special appearance of the major performer or performers for a few minutes before the broadcast program begins. This special appearance may have originated in the desire to get the sound effect audience united so that it will play its role in a warmhearted

way at the start of the regular broadcast. However, there is no doubt that this program is a drawing card and a recruiting measure. It is greatly appreciated because it is interesting and because it makes the sound effect audience feel that it is the real audience—for a few minutes.

2. *Reactions to announcers.* In telling the visible audience how to perform, the announcer often misjudges his audience. His task is simple enough, perhaps too simple. He must give the audience a few instructions over and over—at the beginning of every broadcast. He tells them to be natural, to relax, to laugh, and to applaud or not to applaud according to the signs that he gives. Because of the repetitious nature of his simple assignment the announcer tries to introduce variety and in so doing he sometimes resorts to clowning. Sometimes he talks down to his audience and again he seems unduly self-conscious. The type of broadcast which is preceded by a brief skit or dialogue on the stage really does the trick of putting the audience in the correct frame of mind to produce the proper "sound effects."

The reactions of the audience to the announcer's instructions (and antics) vary greatly. They fall into three main classes. First, there are those who are first-timers and who accept everything that the announcer says in a literal fashion. They are joined by all the naïve members who view every action of the announcer as gospel and law, and who raise no question. They act the part of disciples, as if semi-hypnotized.

The second class includes all those persons who inwardly react against the announcer's manipulation of his audience, but who are polite and give no indication of their feelings. They are glad to be present. They recognize that in a way they are guests of the sponsor, and accept whatever is done, whether they like it or not, without a murmur.

Third, there are those who do not respond to the announcer or who take part halfheartedly. These are the critics who feel that this phase of the program is poorly handled. Some of the personal comments may be classified in two groups. The A type of comments passes judgment on the announcer, and the B type gives the reactions of the members of the audience to the effects of the announcer's work on themselves.

*A. Unfavorable Judgments Concerning the Announcer*

Very much stuck on himself, and takes something away from his personality.

He has a condescending manner toward his audience.

He has a patronizing attitude.

His own enthusiasm makes everything seem exaggerated and false.

Tries to be informal and friendly but does not seem sincere and does not ring true.

He is just a part of the hokum.

His wisecracking is not successful.

*B. Reactions of Members of Audience to Effects on Themselves*

I didn't want to do as he said.

I always feel a little untrue to myself, but I think I ought to help.

I felt that I ought to cooperate.

He made me feel like doing the opposite.

I do not like the idea of applauding on signal—it is unnatural.

In the main, the audiences respond exceptionally well to the announcer's requests. Recently the presence of numerous youth of high school age at certain radio "shows" has resulted in shrill cries, whistling, and boisterous laughter. One announcer asks his audience not to whistle, for such behavior reminds him of circus days and cheapens the whole radio performance.

3. *Reactions to the main program.* Since most people select the kind of radio program in which they are most interested, they are likely to respond favorably to the performance. Usually, the main audiences are decorous, interested, responsive, and, on occasion, enthusiastic. The "first-nighters" are all eyes and ears.



The reactions to the main program vary according to the purposes of attendance. The first type of reaction has already been mentioned—that of the “first-nighter.” Often he is a visitor in town or a tourist, and has come to see and enjoy the program irrespective of its nature. Everything is novel and everything is appreciated.

A second type of reaction is that of the person who is interested in the program as a “show.” It has been said that in New York people attend to see the radio show, while in Hollywood the main object of interest is the “guest star,” who is usually a well-known movie person. The people who go to see a show react somewhat like those who attend the legitimate stage. They are pleased or displeased, as the case may be, with the plot or story and with the acting, restricted as it is by the necessity of using microphones and by the limited time element.

Those persons who go to see the stars react in distinctive ways. They are spellbound by the presence of the “star.” Some of them are speechless with delight at seeing in person a favorite motion picture star. They watch his or her every movement or gesture. Although the setting and occasion are restraining influences on the star performer and although the behavior of the latter is relatively demure, yet the spectators who go to see the guest stars are grateful to the sponsor and more or less satisfied. Their comments are likely to consist of comparisons of the actor’s performance on the film with his actual personality as seen before the microphone or while waiting to take part.

A fourth type of reaction is represented by that of persons who attend in order to see how the broadcasting effects are actually achieved. They are interested in piercing the illusions of the radio show. They enjoy seeing the make-believe techniques, and react favorably to the clever and yet simple devices for producing the sound effects of a moving train, of a sawmill in operation, or of a horse and buggy in motion. Some people, of course, are disappointed

when they see how illusory effects are created. They prefer to listen in, and do not return to join the visible audience. In general, however, the reactions to the main program are definitely favorable. Many people get what they want, and perhaps more, and go away resolved to come back to another broadcast.

4. *Reactions to advertising.* These reactions are the crux of the whole broadcasting business. The advertiser is interested in increased sales to listeners-in; moreover, the increase must be great enough to justify an expenditure that runs into the thousands of dollars for a single thirty-minute broadcast. This problem calls for special study. In this paper the concern is found in what the members of the visible audience have to say about the way the sponsor advertises his goods. These comments vary.

There are two kinds of sponsor techniques that are approved by the visible audience. One is that in which the remarks are limited and never intrusive. "This program is sponsored by \_\_\_\_\_, makers of \_\_\_\_\_, which is noted for \_\_\_\_\_" This is the preferred kind of advertisement. It may be repeated two or three times at correct moments in the course of a program without arousing offense.

The other type of sponsor technique calls for real cleverness. Mention of the wares of the sponsor and of their uses is introduced skillfully into the script. The sponsor's interest is represented perhaps by a bystander who is asked what he is doing and who replies that he is representing \_\_\_\_\_ and is merely observing what is going on (in the show). Perhaps he arrives in the story at the fortunate moment and saves the day by an application of his sponsor's goods. His function must be performed in a different and if possible in an unexpected way on each broadcast. He must be a casual factor in the main story and he must be brief and clever. His appearance never clashes in any way with the main thread of the script or with the dra-

matic moments of the "play." One of the best techniques is tingeing the introduction of the sponsor's wares with humor or by a pleasant surprise.

Some of the more common unfavorable reactions to advertising are:

- Commercials dragged out.
- I was bored as usual by them.
- The advertising was too long.
- Too frequent and too obvious.
- Too set.
- Lacked variety.
- Extremely boring.
- I resented advertisement in the middle of the performance.

Most attendants recognize their indebtedness to sponsors. All expect some kind of advertising, but thus far the sponsor bungles his job more often than not. He often violates the rules of social psychology and does not know it. As a result, he fails to win friends and purchasers for his goods, or he falls far below the legitimate possibilities.

5. *Conclusion.* A study of the visible audience throws light on the social psychology of the audience.<sup>3</sup> The audience is composed of many different kinds of audiences. Out of the composite picture come many important generalizations. In particular, the study of the visible audience indicates:

1. People in an audience prefer to be talked up to rather than down to, for their intelligence is thereby stimulated and they are given new status.
2. If an audience cannot have both cleverness and sincerity from its leaders, it prefers sincerity without cleverness rather than cleverness without sincerity.
3. Even an audience that appears to be homogeneous represents different interests which can be appealed to only by a varied program.

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<sup>3</sup> E. S. Bogardus, *Fundamentals of Social Psychology* (D. Appleton-Century Company, 1942), Chap. XXVII.

## SOCIOLOGICAL NOTES

### *University of Washington*

Dr. George A. Lundberg is Walker-Ames Professor of Sociology for January and February. He is giving a seminar in Methodology in the Social Sciences and a series of popular lectures on World Problems and Social Science.

During the second semester, Dr. Norman S. Hayner will devote full time to the Adult Education Division of the university, lecturing throughout the state on subjects pertaining to the family, crime, and delinquency. Dr. Lee M. Brooks of the University of North Carolina will take over Dr. Hayner's regular teaching program during this period. Professor Cheng Ch'eng-k'un participated in the Adult Education Division program during the first semester. His lectures were concerned mainly with international relations especially in the Pacific.

Mrs. Mary Lou Harter Webb will return to the department during the second semester to assist with the teaching of the introductory course.

The final report of the Washington State Census Board, which was prepared by Dr. Calvin F. Schmid, has just been published. The University of Washington Press announces the publication of Dr. Schmid's monograph entitled *Social Trends in Seattle*.

### *University of California, Los Angeles*

The Department of Anthropology and Sociology announces the appointment of Edwin M. Lemert as visiting lecturer for 1944-45. Professor Lemert is assisting in the introductory courses and in expanding the upper division offering in the department.

### *The University of Southern California*

On January 25-28, 1945, the university celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of the establishment of the Graduate School. This was an occasion for the review of the accomplishments in graduate studies and research in the various divisions and departments. The Department of Sociology, for instance, was established in 1915 under the leadership of Dr. Emory S. Bogardus. In 1916 the department began to publish quarterly the *Sociology Monographs*, which became, in 1921, a bimonthly journal, *The Journal of Applied Sociology*—renamed *Sociology and Social Research* in 1927. In 1920 Alpha Kappa Delta, honorary sociological society, was founded. During that same year the Division of Social Work was established, which now is the Graduate School of Social Work. The sociology faculty have published, to date, 47 books and monographs, 21 of which, exclusive of reprints and revisions, were written by Dr.

Bogardus, 3 having been translated into foreign languages. In this list of publications are found subjects such as general sociology, social psychology, social theory, social problems, leadership, leisure and recreation, social work, child welfare, community organization, and social research. A total of 160 degrees of Master of Arts with a major in sociology have been conferred by the university. Since 1928, 34 Ph.D. degrees with sociology as the principal subject have been awarded.

#### *University of North Carolina*

The sociology staff has completed a number of manuscripts which are now in the process of publication. The Macmillan Company is publishing two volumes by Dr. Howard W. Odum—*Understanding Society: An Introduction to the Study and Direction of American Society* and *The Way of the South: Towards the Regional Balance of America*. Henry Holt and Company is revising Dr. Odum's *American Social Problems: An Introduction to the Study of the People and Their Dilemma*. The University of North Carolina Press is publishing *All These People: The Nation's Human Resources in the South* by Dr. Rupert B. Vance; *North Carolina Today* (for public school use) by Dr. S. H. Hobbs and Marjorie Bond. Dr. Ernest R. Groves and Catherine Groves have written a book on *Dynamic Mental Hygiene*, which is now in the hands of the publisher. Katherine Jocher is editing a special twentieth anniversary number of *Social Forces*, entitled "In Search of the Regional Valence of America," as a unit of the University's sesquicentennial commemoration.

M.H.N.

## RACES AND CULTURE

PEOPLES OF THE USSR. By ANNA LOUISE STRONG. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944, pp. xiii+246.

The author knows a great deal about the theme of this book, having married a Russian and lived in Moscow. She has visited fifteen of the sixteen republics which comprise the USSR. She takes up each of the political units and discusses its political history, its occupations, its physical resources, and its people. The book leans more to economic than to racial emphases, although here and there the reader may glean interesting facts about the different peoples. The racial ensemble includes: the Russians proper, the pioneers of the north; the White Russians, whose capital is Minsk; the Ukrainians, "taller, more graceful, browner of skin and hair than the northern Russians"; the Moldavians, living in a territory bordering on the Black Sea; the Karelians, sturdy people, neighbors of the Finns and facing the polar sea; the Lithuanians, Latvians, and Estonians, who



look out on the Baltic and who will "forgive anyone but not a German"; the Georgians, who prize freedom above all things else; the Armenians, whose ancestors were members of "the earliest Christian state of the world"; the people of Azerbaidjan, whose capital is Baku, "the oil capital of the USSR"; the Kazakhs, "people of the nameless plains"; the Uzbeks, who produce "two thirds of all the Soviet cotton crop"; the Turkmenians, people of the desert; the Kirghiz, herdsmen of the mountains; and the Todjiks, akin to Persians, "tall and dark with straight noses and thick beards—a people highly cultured in poetry and music."

Many beautiful photographs enlighten this descriptive account, which might very well be supplemented by a parallel treatment presenting fuller cultural and ethnical materials. The book is designed to promote understanding between the United States and the new Russia.

E.S.B.

**ANYTHING CAN HAPPEN.** By GEORGE AND HELEN PAPASHVILY. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1945, pp. 202.

Race relations being what they are today, this story relating the "adventures of a Russian who became an American in a land where anything can happen" should be read by everyone who is interested in racial and Americanization problems. Those who a long time ago read *Our Natupski Neighbors* will enjoy it with nostalgic memories. George Papashvily was born in Georgia, Russia, and came to the United States after the close of the first World War, in which he fought. His adventures in his new world are now related by his American wife, Helen, with as much zest as he must have experienced in going through with them. Reading the story as George has told it to her makes for the delightful experience of believing that George is once again recounting it in person to the reader.

The warmth and the generosity of George's personality pervade the book. Rare, subtle humor of the most infectious kind fills page after page. The springlike gaiety of a soul which even in adversity could not be quenched will make one wish that many more immigrants like George may be welcomed to America in the future. Of the many incidents recorded, the story of George's first encounter with an American courtroom is a gem, what with George addressing the judge as "Your Honesty." In similar vein is the story of the unexpected visit of his neighbor, Mrs. Cleevendon, to his farmhouse. With the assistance of his co-operative countrymen, George is renovating the old house. At the moment of the call, he happens to be busy working on the wiring, and wears only bathing trunks, since the day is miserably hot. "I heard a knock. I heard a voice introducing itself. My God! a lady! And I'm over seventy-five percent naked. I dropped the cable and stepped into the nearest place

handy. Happened to be an old grampa clock. . ." To climax the comedy, Helen opens the clock to show its authentic antiqueness to Mrs. Cleeven-don.

In a very definite sense, the story becomes a picture of America and what its democratic nature can do for the alien in our midst. Implicated throughout is the effectiveness of a good-neighbor policy and of cooperation at its zenith. Stalin comes from Georgia. Could he resemble George in any way?

M.J.V.

**NORWEGIAN-AMERICAN STUDIES AND RECORDS.** Northfield, Minn.: Norwegian-American Historical Association, Vol. XIV, 1944, pp. 264.

In this volume ten papers are added to the series of Norwegian-American studies which contribute to American social and cultural history. The introductory study, "A Migration of Skills," gives the story of trained engineers and architects who pioneered technical frontiers. Another describes an exploration in preparation for frontier settlement, and other records and letters reveal the attitudes and aspirations of the immigrants, also factors that influenced the movement. The study entitled "The Norwegian Lutheran Academies" indicates the zeal with which Norwegian pioneers in America developed institutions for higher learning. Of literary interest is the "Ballad of Oleana," left to us by Ole Bull's immigrant colony of the 1850's. These studies, like their predecessors in the series, emphasize social values that are critically at stake in the present war. The importance of the survival of our institutions can be more fully appreciated when judgment is enlightened through the historical background.

J.E.N.

**MOUNDS AND THE MOUND BUILDERS OF THE UNITED STATES.**

By J. M. GILLETTE. A Reprint from the *North Dakota Historical Quarterly*, July, 1944, pp. 70.

Long an authority on the subject of Mound Builders in the United States, the author has produced a significant treatment of the many controversial questions involved. Six types are reviewed: burial mounds, community building mounds, protective mounds, effigy mounds, religious mounds, and midden heaps. In the United States the Mound Builders date back perhaps to 500 A.D., and the mounds of all description number close to 100,000. A useful map is given, showing the location of these mounds—from Lake Superior to the Gulf, and from the Plains states to the Middle Atlantic and the South Atlantic states. The author perceives a definite relation between the patterns of these mounds and the Mayan and Aztec culture. He believes that the "great mounds" were built by invading Maya or Aztecs, using forced labor from the local Indian peoples and having colonization and trade as their chief purposes.

**COSTA RICAN LIFE.** By JOHN AND MAVIS BRESANZ. New York: Columbia University Press, 1944, pp. x+272.

In this sociological discussion the people of Costa Rica and their problems are presented in a clear-cut manner. Class distinctions, courtship and marriage customs, family life, education, work, play, religion, and democracy are the major topics that are handled with sociological insight. While the study centers in Heredia, a coffee town located near San Jose, the capital, the study includes life and conditions generally in Costa Rica.

The authors reach a number of significant conclusions. The International Highway will go far in uniting Costa Rica with her neighbors, and in raising her standard of living. There is no Indian problem, for the Indians were long ago "virtually exterminated." Women are making increasing demands for equality, although they still do not have the vote. Literacy is slowly increasing. The desire for democracy is strong, and a middle class seems to be developing—a hopeful sign. More and more attention is being given to cooperatives, but progress has been conservative. Communists oppose the cooperatives. Individualism is still strong. The telephone and radio as means of communication are not common, but the Costa Rican is "an avid movie fan." Gambling is common. The religion is Catholic. The United States is feared for a number of reasons, and in certain church periodicals the United States is called "pagan, Protestant, and decadent." There is room for developing a better understanding of the United States on the part of Costa Ricans. What the authors call "democracy" is heavily dominated by a traditional individualism.

E.S.B.

**A GUIDE TO MATERIALS BEARING ON CULTURAL RELATIONS IN NEW MEXICO.** By LYLE SAUNDERS. Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1944, pp. xviii+528.

In this *Guide* there are several approaches to the efficient use of over 5,300 titles, many of them being important but little-known works. First are the "Dictionary-Guide" and an alphabetical listing of selected titles included in the dictionary. For specialized service there are eleven supplementary bibliographies on the following subjects: Bibliographies and Indexes; Pre-Spanish Period; Apaches; Navajos; Pueblos; Indians, General; Spanish-Colonial and Mexican Periods; American Frontier Period; Spanish-Americans and Mexicans; Fiction and Drama; and General. The emphasis in the *Guide* is placed on cultural adjustment in New Mexico; it is not intended as a guide to a comprehensive history of that state. Although compiled primarily as a reference work in the field of sociology, the volume offers much of value for the other social sciences. The author and the School of Inter-American Affairs are to be congratulated for this scholarly contribution to research.

J.E.N.

**STORY OF A SECRET STATE.** By JAN Karski. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1944, pp. 389.

Warsaw was gay for Jan Karski on the evening of August 23, 1939. That was the evening when he was attending a brilliant affair given at the Portuguese legation. And it was the last time that Warsaw enjoyed itself. Early the next morning, Karski received a summons to join his regiment. Poland had issued an order of secret mobilization. In another fortnight, Adolf Hitler had begun his reign of terror for Poland.

Jan Karski's story of Poland during the German occupation is told with straightforwardness and sincerity. In one sense, it might almost be called a manual for underground movements, since a large portion of it reveals how the Poles through their underground organization managed to survive the brutalities inflicted upon them. He follows the first feeble and separate attempts of the people down through the years to the more elaborate organization of 1944 when a secret but very real state had emerged. In another sense, it is a tale of the adventures of Karski as a liaison officer between the political and military authorities of the underground. The narration of his activities fills many a page with thrilling and harrowing incidents. Two chapters, "The Ghetto," and "To Die in Agony," will make many Americans wonder just what kind of minds these Germans have. After reading the gruesome details, it becomes almost impossible to think that a "soft" peace should be forthcoming for the supermen. Karski claims that some 1,800,000 Jews have been tortured and murdered in Poland. He witnessed some of the tragic scenes in Warsaw's Ghetto, watching with horror the use of fleeing humans for targets by German youths being trained in the art of warfare.

Young Karski carried his story of suffering Poland to Anthony Eden and to the United Nations War Crimes Commission in London. Now he is in the United States to follow out the instructions given him by the late great General Sikorski. That Polish hero asked him to tell the truth and only the truth about the plight of Poland under the vicious Nazi heel. The book contains his message to the American people. M.J.V.

## SOCIAL WELFARE

**THE VALLEY AND ITS PEOPLE, A Portrait of TVA.** By R. L. DUFFUS AND CHARLES KRUTCH. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1944, pp. 167.

Here in brief is an arresting description of TVA, its history, its region, its functions, its achievements, and its people. The text is by Robert Luther Duffus, writer and journalist, a native of Vermont, with an A.B. and A.M. from Stanford University. The illustrations, about one hundred beautiful photographs, are the work of Charles Krutch, chief of

the Graphics Department of TVA, and his associates. The human aspects of this vivid story dominate the telling. "These problems of land and water, of river and farms, were interrelated. Try to solve one set of them and you ran into another set. And back of them all was the problem of people—good people somehow falling behind in the struggle for a satisfactory life."

The two chapters, "White Magic" and "The People in Said Basin," reveal the range of activities as they bring new hope and a better, fuller life to the "people in said basin." The last chapter, the eighth, "And Other Valleys," points to the possible extension of the idea of regionalism as actually demonstrated in the Tennessee Valley. "The Valley is one of many valleys. It is a small part of a vast country. It has been half asleep. Now it is waking. The old democracy comes back in modern dress. We need not be afraid here of the tyranny of the State nor of the tyranny of monopolistic private enterprise, not if we are wide awake. We need not be afraid of them in any valley." The last sentence summarizes the drama of TVA, drama of man and land and water: "This is the Valley. This is the song of the water moving."

B.A.MCC.

**YOUR HEALTH AND SAFETY.** By JESSIE WILLIAMS CLEMENSEN AND WILLIAM RALPH LAPORTE. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1944, pp. viii+587.

Although designed primarily for text use, the book is of interest and value for the layman as well as the student. Drawings, charts, graphs, and diagrams abound. The book serves a commendable purpose in cautioning the reader against advertisements of patented beverages, pills, salts, massage creams, patent medicines, nostrums, vegetarianism, raw food, and health fads. The importance of mental hygiene is stressed. People can "die of grief." There is close interrelationship between the emotions and the sense organs and glands. There seems to be a relationship between mental confusion and colds. Resentment, worry, self-pity pile up internal trouble. "By actual blood count, four days' worry may destroy one third of the red corpuscles." "Modern medical and health sciences are founded upon an understanding of the circulatory system." Good health means good vitality. "Great vitality can make a personality so strong as to overshadow even physical deformities."

Ample room for treatment is reserved regarding problems of safety. The care of the injured, traffic hazards, athletic sports of all types, and the dangers of home, school, and industry are considered. A modern note is struck in the discussion of civilian safety in wartime.

CLYDE VEDDER



**RADIO'S 100 MEN OF SCIENCE.** By ORRIN E. DUNLAP, JR. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944, pp. 294.

Brief biographical narratives of pathfinders in radio, electronics, and television are presented. Part I deals with pioneers in electricity, and Part II is devoted to pioneers of the radio age. Among the more recent contributors to the development of the radio and television appear such names as Lee De Forest, Ernst F. W. Alexanderson, Vladimir K. Zworykin, Edwin H. Armstrong, Frank Conrad, and Paul Nipkow. Each biography is written as a personal story as well as a record of the unique contribution of each scientist. Forty-five of the scientists included are still living. The reader will find these stories interesting and nontechnical, although the material is of a scientific nature. A world of new scientific wonders is just ahead, which can be glimpsed by a perusal of the stories of scientists who have contributed so much to these new means of communication.

M.H.N.

**COOPERATIVE ASSOCIATIONS IN EUROPE AND THEIR POSSIBILITIES FOR POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION.** By FLORENCE E. PARKER AND HELEN I. COWAN. Washington, D.C.: Bureau of Labor Statistics, 1944, pp. 280.

Not since President Roosevelt's Commission on Cooperatives made its Report, published in 1937, has a comprehensive survey of cooperatives in Europe been made. This new study covers the recent cooperative developments not only in western Europe, as was done by the President's Commission, but for all Europe. The survey includes the British Isles, the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, Belgium, France, and Switzerland, the Baltic states, Austria, Czechoslovakia, Germany, Hungary and Poland, the Soviet Union, the Balkan states, Italy, and Spain.

In many instances it has been possible to present the facts up to and through 1943, although in other cases the materials are incomplete and not recent perforce of circumstances. On the whole, the development of European cooperatives in recent years, despite all the handicaps, is very encouraging. There is a growing appreciation among European members of cooperatives that more and more education in cooperative methods and principles, and particularly in cooperation as a democratic way of life, is the only sound basis for a permanent and developing cooperative movement. It is also increasingly clear that cooperatives within a nation and that international cooperatives need to present a united organization in overcoming weaknesses from within and in offsetting vicious attacks from without. The ensemble of 280 pages comprises a "must" book for every cooperative library, no matter how small. It is a handy reference work for individual readers and study-action groups alike.

**TAXES AND CO-OPS.** Minneapolis: Midland Cooperative Wholesale, 1944, pp. 20.

In this attractive booklet the Midland Cooperative Wholesale has taken up point by point the actions and claims of the National Tax Equality Association in the latter's attack upon, and attempt to undo, the cooperatives, and thus "to protect their own profits." In showing the inside purposes of the NTEA, the claim is made that taxes on refunds would be grossly unfair and "that cooperatives in the final analysis are the last bulwark of enterprise that is really free."

**INTER-COOPERATIVE RELATIONS AND POST-WAR PLANNING.**  
Reprint from the *International Labour Review*, November, 1944. Montreal: International Labor Organization, 1944, pp. 24.

After discussing the advantages of intercooperative relations, this booklet reviews rapidly the current extent of intercooperative activities within the various countries of western Europe. The chief forms of intercooperative relations are defined as (a) trading transactions, (b) contractual relationships, and (c) the establishment of jointly managed enterprises. There is great need that intercooperative relations within a local community as well as on a national and international scale be pushed as rapidly as possible at the present time.

**YOUNG OFFENDERS: AN ENQUIRY INTO JUVENILE DELINQUENCY.** By A. M. CARR-SAUNDERS, HERMANN MANNHEIM, AND E. C. RHODES. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1944, pp. x+168.

This volume is a study of two thousand delinquents (1935-1938) and an equal number of nondelinquents from the same age groups and environs (London and six provinces) to determine causative factors and trends in the incidence of juvenile delinquency. It was made jointly by the director of the London School of Economics, a reader in statistics, and a lecturer in penology, aided by conferences with magistrates, probation officers, school officials, and county councils. The "war made it impossible to realize . . . a study of the psychological aspects of juvenile crime."

One fourth of the book is devoted to a summary of previous studies. The present investigation concerned itself with the social and structural adequacy of the home, the attitude of parents, the regularity of their employment, their criminality, the environmental influences, the traits of the boy himself, his school conduct and attainments, church attendance, and his ambition or desire for change. The authors believe that "the atmosphere of a British home predisposes children toward delinquency"; the chance of a delinquent coming from a home with an abnormal atmosphere was three times as great as the chance of a delinquent coming from

a home with a normal atmosphere. Harshness of the parents, their laxity in discipline, their own criminality, and their irregularity of employment were considered as factors in an abnormal atmosphere of normally constructed family groups. The delinquents were found to be "somewhat inferior subnormal groups of lads," and thus more susceptible to influences tending to produce delinquency.

The authors have been very careful in drawing specific conclusions from their findings, since they regard their statistical work as episodic in character rather than as regular and systematic research over a sufficiently long period of years. They also recognize the difficulties which arise when they associate "subnormal characteristics" of "susceptible types" with "abnormal environmental influences." This research offers no new data to those who are familiar with Cyril Burt's studies in England and Clifford Shaw's studies in America. In fact, it is disconcerting to note the persistent use of single-factor statistical procedures in view of the development of multifactor methods by the Glucks, by Burgess, and in other recent studies in the field.

E.F.Y.

**PREPAYMENT MEDICAL CARE ORGANIZATIONS.** Reprint from Bureau of Research and Statistics, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C., 1944, pp. 16.

In this study of 219 prepayment medical care organizations operating in 35 states, it was found that between four and five million persons have "some degree of protection against the unexpected costs of medical care through membership in a prepayment medical care organization" or as dependents of members. About 43 per cent of these persons belonged to industrial plans, 28 per cent to medical society plans, 15 per cent to private group clinics, 7 per cent to governmental plans, and 5 per cent to consumer-sponsored plans. The last percentage would have been increased considerably if the industrial plans financed entirely by employees had been classified with consumer plans instead of with other industrial plans.

**AGENCIES CONCERNED WITH THE QUALITY OF RURAL LIFE IN THE SOUTH.** A Directory. By the Southern Rural Life Council, Nashville, Tennessee, 1944, pp. ix+99.

This directory contains a list of agencies that are contributing to the improvement of rural life in the South. Besides giving the names and addresses of the agencies, the major ones are described briefly, including statements regarding the organization, purpose, activities, and publications of each. The Southern Rural Life Council is a cooperative project sponsored by Peabody College, Scarritt College, Vanderbilt University, and Fisk University, for the purpose of utilizing available resources in developing a program of community development.

M.H.N.

**THE GOOLIBAH TREE.** By JOE GUNTERMAN. New York: The Cooperative League, 1944, pp. 48.

In this brightly illustrated story for children, Mr. Spinglespangle climbs up into the Goolibah Tree and appropriates its delicious fruit to himself until Mr. Krinkle and Mr. Wrinkle belatedly get the idea that by "working together" instead of against each other they may climb into the Goolibah Tree and enjoy some of its fruits too.

**WHAT MAKES THE ECONOMIC WHEELS GO 'ROUND?** By GLADDEN HASKELL. New York: The Cooperative League, 1944, pp. 18 (mimeographed).

Designed for the use of study-action groups, this document takes up such questions as these: What determines price? What are the effects of monopoly on prices? How do cooperatives break the stranglehold of scarcity economics? Why is cooperation good for everybody—throughout the world? Pertinent discussion questions are added to each section.

**THE ANNALS OF THE AMERICAN ACADEMY OF POLITICAL AND SOCIAL SCIENCE,** "Adolescents in Wartime," 1944, Vol. 236, pp. 233.

In the Foreword attention is called to the *Annals* of November, 1940, devoted to "Children in a Depression Decade." This current issue is concerned with adolescents living "in the midst of a war of world-wide dimensions." The five parts of the volume are given over to the following discussions: (1) the place of the adolescent in the social structure, the social significance of the impact of war upon him, and the number and activities of adolescents as given in the U.S. Census; (2) the social and family setting, including such factors as working parents, living away from home, sex behavior, together with an account of "Britain's experience with adolescents"; (3) wartime employment in different fields and work experience programs in American high schools; (4) health and hygiene; and (5) selected problems such as recreation, religion, and government.

The authors of the different papers are representative of a variety of viewpoints and professional experience, e.g., Dr. James S. Plant, Dr. Ernest R. Groves and Gladys Hoagland Groves, Dr. James H. S. Bos-sard, Dr. Benjamin C. Gruenberg, and Dr. Katharine F. Lenroot. In several articles emphasis is given to the significance of "values" in both adolescent and adult adjustment. For instance, the note is struck: "Business men and the public generally have discovered that more important than special skill and knowledge is 'character,' which calls for a kind of discipline different from that which our schools have been offering." Certainly the stress on values is basic to any program to promote socialized personality on the part of youth.

B.A.MCC.

**OBSERVATIONS ON THE SAMPLE CENSUSES IN 10 CONGESTED PRODUCTION AREAS.** By JOHN WEBB. Washington, D.C.: Committee for Congested Production Areas, 1944, pp. 20.

In this nontechnical paper are presented some of the current problems of congestion in war production areas and those that will follow after the war. The areas include Charleston, Detroit, Los Angeles, Mobile, Portland, San Francisco, and San Diego.

**COOPERATIVE ORGANIZATION AND THE POST-WAR HOUSING PROBLEM.** Reprint from the *International Labour Review*, December, 1944. Montreal: International Labor Organization, 1944, pp. 12.

Cooperative housing associations are proposed in this pamphlet as means of helping to rebuild the residence portions of the more heavily bombed towns and cities of Europe. The experience gained by the "reconstruction cooperatives" in France after World War I will be valuable, as for example in Rheims, where "only 15 out of a total of 14,000 houses had been left intact" and where the reconstruction cooperatives "almost entirely rebuilt the City of Rheims."

**THE HANDBOOK OF INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY.** By MAY SMITH. New York: Philosophical Library, 1944, pp. 304.

Dr. May Smith, long-time investigator and research expert in the field of industrial psychology, offers this book as an introductory guide for those who have supervision over others at work. She defines her subject as "the study of the conduct of those who exchange the work of their hands and brains for the means to live." Industrial psychology as such has been in the formulative stage for perhaps more than a century. That it has remained so until recently has been due to economic and psychologic factors. Some sectors of the field have been explored and subjected to more scientific research than others. Time and motion studies, vocational guidance and selection, and industrial sickness and fatigue have been among these sectors. The results of studies of psychological reactions to both the physical and psychical environments in the factory are now coming to the fore. Such physical factors as lighting, temperature, noise, and arrangement of hours are commented upon at some length. The psychical factors relating to the individuals at work, and to these as they form a group or a community within the factory, are also discussed. At least here is an approach made to the psychosocial factors. Missing is an attempt to get the picture of the personality as a whole. What is presented is a picture of the factory personality with its grievances and its pleasures. This is important but not the whole picture of the worker that must be forthcoming for a complete study. At any rate, the materials given are significant for the further encouragement of a new humane science of industrial relations.

M.J.V.



**THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIOLOGY IN THE UNITED STATES.** By OWEN F. BEAL. Ann Arbor, Michigan: Edwards Brothers, Inc., 1944, pp. v+86.

Special attention is given in this treatise to the American pioneers in sociology, namely, Ward, Sumner, Small, and Giddings. A great deal of useful information about these men and their sociological teachings is packed into a small compass in each case, and the results are excellent introductions for beginning students of the history of American sociology. A brief conspectus of contemporary sociology, of its leaders, of its major fields and trends is also afforded the student. The function of sociology is seen in its contribution to an understanding of the processes of social life and to the achievement of a democratic social order.

**A HANDBOOK FOR JUNIOR COOPERATIVES.** New York: The Co-operative League, 1944, pp. 18.

Planned for use in junior high schools, this concisely written guide is divided into five parts: getting ready to organize, preparing the proper papers, starting the wheels turning, joining up with the rest, and materials and tools to draw on. An excellent set of Articles and By-Laws for a junior cooperative is included, and many helpful references are made to pamphlets and motion pictures dealing with cooperatives.

**CARTELS AND INTERNATIONAL PATENT AGREEMENTS.** By LEISA G. BRONSOW. Washington, D.C.: The Library of Congress Legislative Reference Service, Bulletin No. 32, 1944, pp. 98.

Cooperatives have a vital interest in the activities of cartels. Persons who are thinking about international cooperatives will do well to familiarize themselves with these materials which deal with the history of cartels, particularly in Germany. The I. G. Farbenindustrie receives special scrutiny. Data pro and con concerning the wide-ranging and socially dangerous activities of some cartels, involving big businesses in the United States, are given. The study is well documented with the best references on cartels available in English.

## SOCIAL THEORY

**WAR AND ITS CAUSES.** By L. L. BERNARD. New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1944, pp. x+479.

Sociologist Bernard undertakes here the difficult task of conducting an investigation and analysis of the war pattern. Eminently fitted and finely qualified for the adventure, he has succeeded in turning out a book that will merit consultation by those in the vanguard of the millions longing for peace and the complete eradication of the monster, war.

War is seen as a social institution, one of a class of institutions which are essentially predatory, succeeding because they thrive on death and destruction. Professor Bernard defines war as "organized continuous conflict of a transient character between or among collectivities of any sort capable of arming or organizing themselves for violent struggle carried on by armies in the field (or naval units on water) and supported by civil or incompletely militarized populations back of the battle areas constituted for the pursuit of some fairly well-defined public or quasi-public objective." The historical approach is utilized in encompassing an inquiry into the changing attitudes toward war, the theories of war, and the conceptions about war. Within the limited space allowed, the author has suggested illuminatingly the possibilities for further study and amplifications of these conceptions—economic, naturalistic, political, judicial, theological, emotional and attitudinal, and ethical.

No direct plan for peace is presented. Dr. Bernard contents himself with a searching probe into the possibilities of settling world disputes. Indirectly, then, are proposed the ways to a world without war. Seven possibilities have been subjected to review: namely, (1) programs for world security (Atlantic Charter type); (2) a United States of Europe; (3) a new League of Nations; (4) union of the United States with Britain; (5) United States assumption of responsibility for world peace and its enforcement; (6) annihilation of the present system of the economy of exploitation underlying international relations and its end result, imperialism; and (7) allowing nature or other forces in social and political evolution to take their course. The strong and weak points lurking in these are discussed. It may be considered somewhat unfortunate that not a few of the prejudices of the author creep into the discussion here. He does not like too well some British attitudes and displays something akin to contempt for many of the diplomats of the past. Well, maybe they need it. At any rate no one with a bundle of facts from the past will deny the statement that the imperialistic system "is responsible directly or indirectly for practically all our modern wars." Those who want to grasp thoroughly the activities of humans that have led the world to war will do well to consult this systematic analysis of war. M.J.V.

**GLOBAL GEOGRAPHY.** By GEORGE T. RENNER and Associates. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1944, pp. viii+728.

Dr. Renner and twenty-nine associate authors make the plea that the people of the United States take cognizance of their geographical illiteracy and begin to think in terms of the new concept of air-age, or global, geography. Ignorance of geography has encouraged isolationism and indifference toward international affairs—a condition which came very near

spelling victory for the Axis powers. In recent years the world has shrunk. It takes less time to travel from New York to Moscow by plane than from New York to Miami by train. The United States has failed to recognize the fact that the finished plan of war strategy is about 90 per cent geography. Because of insufficient geographical knowledge most Americans still cannot accurately visualize the pattern of the war.

This book is designed to meet the needs of the average American citizen and leader. It is well organized, and the materials are graphically and lucidly presented. Thirty-five chapters are covered under four main divisions: resource patterns and world affairs, economic problems, geocultural problems, and geopolitical problems. World resource patterns are studied in their relationship to human beings in war and peace. The problems of conservation, food supply, industrialization, technology, and changes in transportation and communication are given fresh and vigorous treatment under the list of war exigencies and peace planning. Scarcely eighty pages are devoted to geocultural topics. The reader is but briefly introduced to problems of the city, population distribution, races of men and their distribution, and current events and contemporary geography. In the ten chapters devoted to geopolitical problems, the reader will find a vast fund of new and fascinating information. Each chapter is supplemented by a bibliography, study questions, and suggested topics for study.

K. M. WALLACE

**FREEDOM FROM FEAR.** By LOUIS H. PINK. New York: Harper & Brothers, 1944, pp. x+254.

This book is certainly one of the best in its field, and it should be commended in superlatives. The first part, "The Road Toward Peace," discusses freedom from fear, freedom from want, and the right to work. The second part surveys many problems of social security, whether public or private, compulsory or voluntary. The author's broad experience in insurance has enabled him to write in an exceptionally practical and interesting manner about the several forms of social insurance, as well as housing, which are usually featured in plans for social security. Excellent as is the book thus far, the third part, "An Economic Union of Nations," appeals even more to this reviewer.

The author's discussion of the need for international organization, and particularly for a federation of the European countries, in order to eliminate economic warfare in the future, is phrased in terms that are remarkable for their breadth of view and freedom from bias. Weak generalization so often found in studies of this kind is lacking; the author is matter of fact and precise and fearless in his conclusions. His criticisms

of some contemporary writers are historically sound and founded in American common sense.

The author recognizes in full measure the part labor and church organizations should play in solving the problems of peace. Whatever plans this or any other nation may work out for security, it is shown that real social security can be achieved only through international organization for the common good. The peoples, and particularly the leaders, of all nations need to realize the importance of making certain sacrifices of fictitious and arbitrary values which breed warfare; otherwise, this war will have been fought in vain. The capacity of the United States in the role of world leadership will depend upon the degree to which we preserve our federal system and protect local government. If we safeguard that which has been found good in our way of life as a federation of states, and continue as a federal democracy rather than drift into bureaucracy and totalitarianism, the American pattern may prove worthy of trial by other nations; and, furthermore, our principles for federation may point the way for international organization.

J.E.N.

**THE ECONOMICS OF DEMOBILIZATION.** By E. JAY HOWENSTINE, JR. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1944, pp. 336.

This is a timely treatise on the economic problems of demobilization. It offers an opportunity for profiting by past experience. Every statesman or official having anything to do with our war economy may read this book with profit. Students of war economics would find it interesting, useful, and scholarly.

The author has given a detailed history of the demobilization problems of World War I, how they were solved or not solved. From the analysis of those problems, the author has drawn significant conclusions and has offered what seems to be an excellent plan for the economic demobilization of World War II. Some of his suggestions may seem somewhat unorthodox and perhaps disturbing to certain groups, as, for instance, the following: "In industries where monopolistic practices were widespread in the pre-war era, for example, aluminum; outright sale of all [government] plants would be ill-considered. To sell the latter plants would re-enforce monopolistic power and do nothing to insure protection of consumer interests." Or again, "Some plants might be kept as 'yard-stick' plants under government ownership and operation in order to compare costs with private plants" (p. 320).

Aside from the valuable subject content of the book, it would be desirable also as a bibliography, for, in addition to a general and extensive bibliography, there is a long list of references at the end of each chapter.

LOUIS PETROFF

Southern Illinois Normal University

**A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF THE WRITINGS OF CHARLES ABRAM ELLWOOD.** By MARY VIE CRAMBLITT. Durham, N.C.: Duke University, 1944, pp. 34, mimeographed.

A total of 179 bibliographic references are briefly but carefully annotated. They are arranged in chronological order, extending from 1910 to 1944 inclusive. Not only are these writings voluminous but they constitute a remarkable contribution to the social sciences in general and to sociology in particular. The subject matter, which is varied, deals with such topics as the family, criminology, science, religion. The underlying thread of interpretation is psychological. The method of social improvement is found in education and the social principles of religion.

**WAR, PEACE AND NONRESISTANCE.** By GUY FRANKLIN HERSHBERGER. Scottdale, Pennsylvania: The Herald Press, 1944, pp. xv+415.

The author traces the Biblical background of nonresistance, the position of the early church toward peace and war, the development of the Mennonites in Europe and America, and the position of the Mennonites in reference to war, peace, and nonresistance. This is followed by a discussion of modern pacifism and how the nonresistance is challenged by pacifism as held by various groups. Particular attention is given to the service of nonresistance to society. The chief object of writing the book is to assist Mennonites themselves, and the general public, to a better understanding of the philosophy of nonresistance and the present state of the faith.

M.H.N.

**SOCIOLOGY OF THE RENAISSANCE.** By ALFRED VON MARTIN. New York: Oxford University Press, 1944, pp. x+100.

Translated from the German by W. L. Luetkens, this enlightening essay makes a fine attempt to analyze the new bourgeois culture of the Renaissance. Social conditioning and the social function of the spirit of an age are "determined by the economic, political, and cultural ruling class" declares Von Martin. If one agrees with this premise, his argument seemingly holds good. Bourgeois civilization arrived with the Renaissance. The central point of the essay has been directed toward the social realities which gave rise to this new civilization. Italy has been selected for the setting. Here began the first typical stages of the modern age. The modern age has been characterized as the era of "intellectually supported economic power," which uses religion as well as politics to entrench the moneyed great bourgeoisie, i.e., the capitalist. Penetrating and stimulating are the author's views of the social changes which altered the old medieval society and which brought into being the competitive spirit, the



individualistic entrepreneur, the capitalistic state, and a church in alliance with the economic magnates. Machiavelli has been conceived as a forerunner of Oswald Spengler. This sixteenth-century philosopher "mercilessly criticized his times" and argued that the rich bourgeoisie would finally bring the state to ruin. Machiavelli's solution was dictatorship and the absolutist state. Thus, the germ for present-day fascism lurked in Renaissance thought. The essay may be considered as presenting an original contribution to social thought in the form of a sociological interpretation of a particular period.

M.J.V.

**FREEDOM THROUGH EDUCATION.** By JOHN D. REDDEN AND FRANCIS A. RYAN. Milwaukee: The Bruce Publishing Co., 1944, pp. xii+204.

It is the avowed purpose of this book to interpret the scope, meaning, and application of the Four Freedoms, and to indicate how they may be implemented by education. It is the thesis of the authors that the Four Freedoms have a moral foundation flowing from the truths of philosophy and divine revelation, and that they can be practiced effectively only under a democratic way of life, which is fundamentally the Christian way of life. Nevertheless, the authors are unnecessarily restricted in the criteria through which they form their conclusions.

Definitely, according to their views, the bases of the Four Freedoms are *not* found in science, in sociology, in economics, in materialistic philosophies like naturalism, socialism, nationalism, communism, or in the experimentalism which is so characteristic in American education, influenced as it is by Dewey's philosophy. In none of these, they claim, can be found the essentials they associate with divine revelation, morality, and the Christian way of life, which must constitute the education by means of which to implement the Four Freedoms. The authors reason in a realm of assumed universality of Christian values in terms of the Catholic church rather than of religion as a social institution, an institution which exists in a reciprocal relation to other institutions. Their analysis and criticisms of the social sciences in connection with the Four Freedoms suffer too much from bias to be of general value.

J.E.N.

**A CENTURY OF COOPERATION.** An Epitome of the Birth and Growth of the National Movements. London: The International Cooperative Alliance, 1944, pp. 69.

The cooperative movement in a total of thirty-four different countries is reviewed in this document which was "issued in connection with the twenty-second International Cooperative Day, July 1st, 1944." While the facts concerning each country are briefly summarized, the ensemble results are highly significant. The document is a useful reference work.

## SOCIAL DRAMA

THE SEARCHING WIND. A play in two acts by LILLIAN HELLMAN. New York: The Viking Press, 1944, pp. 96.

Lillian Hellman is a serious-minded playwright. In her play, *Watch on the Rhine*, she dealt with the Nazi mind in its most subtle beastliness. In her moving-picture scenario, *The North Star*, she showed the ruthlessness and brutality of the Nazi spirit. In this play, *The Searching Wind*, she accounts in part for the rise to power in Europe of the Nazi Fascist octopus. Blame is centered upon those persons who were gullible enough to predict erroneously that the Nazis were generally misunderstood and needed generosity in their treatment. These became the appeasers. They failed to see the shadows of the beast spreading itself over all Europe. One of these was our ex-ambassador Hazen, and to him Miss Hellman brings her message sharply. His only son, Sam, has come home from the battlefields in Italy badly wounded. He has been not only physically maimed but mentally tortured by the news that his father has been consorting with the old-line aristocrats of the European scene. On the battlefield he has learned the meaning of what the common folk are really fighting for. His father, moreover, is still writing editorials in his newspaper that savor of appeasement. Sam's grandfather, an old ex-liberal, helps him to see the past as it has shaped the future. Sam realizes that the attitudes of his father and mother are similar to those that have brought on the second war. In a final impassioned speech he tells them that he loves America, that he doesn't fancy fooling around with it, and that no more mistakes should be made.

This major theme has unfortunately been somewhat dimmed by an excursion into the love triangle between Sam's father, mother, and the other woman, the telling of which has been handled by a series of flashbacks into the years 1922, 1923, and 1938. All this does not quite succeed in ruining the play, but it does mar it considerably. Otherwise, the play impresses one with its strong and often eloquent pleading for the solid convictions of the true American who knows that democracy is the way of life that he prefers.

M.J.V.

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